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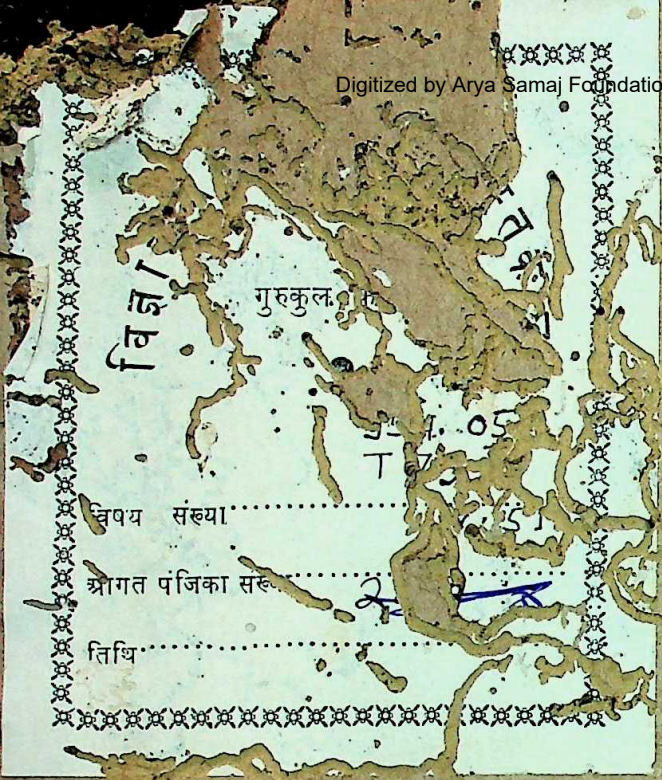

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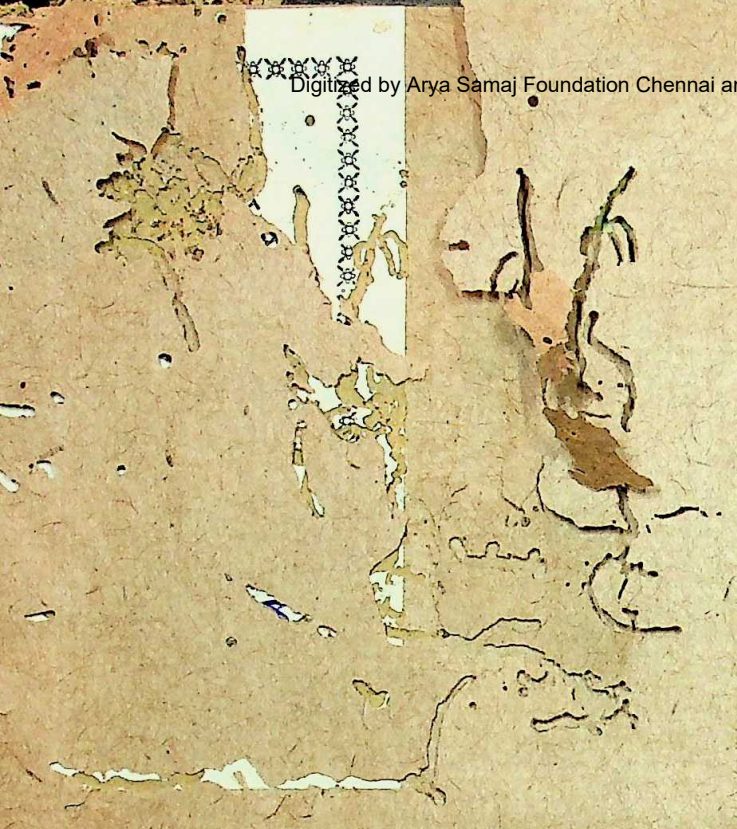

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Identification of the Image of Terminal Stupa of Barabudur and the Foundation of the Sailendra Dynasty*

BY

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

Some of the major problems of the Sailendra dynasty of Java, as have been specified below, have hitherto defied all attempts at satisfactory solution, but speculations thereon during the last few decades have set our minds to work within the framework of those speculations, though without transgressing the norms of historical procedure as far as possible. It is however possible to look at the problems from a fresh point of view and reinterpret the historical development accordingly. These refer to the name of Barabuḍur, its standing as a relic shrine, the question regarding the foundation of Barabuḍur and its connexion with the founder of the Śailendra dynasty, the identity of the image—if there was one—on the terminal stūpa and other connected matters. In the present paper an attempt has been made to study these problems from a new point of view and interpret them accordingly. I should like to begin with a study of some inscriptions.

The data of the Kayumvungan inscription, dated 824 A.D.,[1] and those of the Trui Tpusan inscriptions (nos. I & II), of 842 A.D.,[2] are believed to throw some light on the problems of Barabuḍur. It is thought by some that the former is the foundation-charter of Barabuḍur,[3] while the latter refer to the institution of a free-hold

* The paper was read under a slightly different title "Identification of the image on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur and connected problems" at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra, Australia, on 8-1-71.

1. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, I, pp. 38ff.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 74 ff, 79 ff.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 177 ff.

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for the *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra,* of which the last term i.e. Sambhāra is again believed to refer to Barabuḍur. These inscriptions were discovered in the residency of Kĕdu and important geographical names of these records seem to refer them to this region.

There are however difficulties in identifying the Old-Javanese geographical names of these charters with similar names in other old charters or bring them in relation to modern villages bearing similar names.[4] Still there is little doubt that these charters belong to the residency of Kĕdu. Now, the opening verses of the Kayumvungan inscription written in Sragdharā metre have some important message for students of history. We offer the English translation below:

"May the hero of immeasurable might, seated in the great *Vajraparyaṅkāsana* on the lofty hill, he, born in the world and moving in the world, ... a lion (among men) to the very tip .... may he protect the whole world of innocent beings, free from the power of Smara (i.e. the God of Love)."

If we now recall that the Kayumvungan and the Trui Tpusan inscriptions yield geographical data referring to the region of Kĕdu and if one such charter invokes a deity "seated in the great *Vajraparyaṅkāsana* on the lofty hill," it should obviously refer to a hill of the Kĕdu region where a deity of such description was located on the summit. Such a hill with a deity atop can only suit Barabuḍur where a stūpa was fashioned out of a rugged hill. There are no doubt other hills in that region or in its neighbourhood, such a Mĕrapi, Mĕrbabu,[5] Sumbing, Gunung Vukir and others, but they do not fit into the description of the Kayumvungan inscription and have therefore to be left out of consideration. As regards other Buddhist temples of approximately the same period, such as Pavon and Mendut, for instance, which form with Barabuḍur a sort of complex, it cannot be said that they meet the conditions of the opening verses of the inscription referred to above

4. Damais in *BEFEO* LIV (1968), pp. 383 ff.

5. Stutterheim (*Studies in Indonesian Archaeology,* p. 14) did not consider these place-names to be "typically Javanese."

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nor of other data therein. It is therefore reasonable to think that the opening verses can only refer to Barabuḍur and none else.

Now, if the Kayumvungan inscription refers to the hill of Barabuḍur, with an image on the summit, the significance of the image, its relationship, if any, with the founder of the Barabuḍur-stūpa, whether Barabuḍur was a *kamūlān* of the Śailendra-dynasty, etc., would naturally come up for consideration. As stated already, the inscription of Trui Tpusan is believed to make a direct reference to Barabuḍur under the phrase *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra*. The word *kamūlān*, discussed elaborately by Damais,[6] does not, for paucity of details in contemporary or near-contemporary records, permit of any clear exposition, but we cannot lose sight of the fact that it literally means a place where a *mūla* i.e. root or origin is located. So it may refer to a shrine where a relic is kept for veneration by the people. It may be connected with religion, such as tooth, hair or bone of Buddha or his principal disciple or may be secular objects pertaining to the founder of a dynasty. The existing data cannot positively preclude the possibility of depositing some sort of relic, of whatever type it may be, in the land called Sabhāra and free-holds were instituted for the maintenance of the establishment. What that relic was cannot be determined on the basis of the Trui Tpusan inscriptions, but if Sambhāra can refer to Barabuḍur, it will signify that Barabuḍur was a *kamūlān* i.e. some sort of relic was placed at Barabuḍur and free-holds were instituted for the maintenance of its regular service. Otherwise, it would appear singularly strange that we shall, on the one hand, tacitly recognise Barabuḍur as a stūpa and, on the other, recoil when the term *kamūlān* has to be applied to it. This would be rather illogical.

Now, the name Sambhāra[7] seems to be composed of two parts, viz., *Sam* (= *Sang*) + Bhāra. For analogy, I can draw attention to the names of Samboja and San fo-t'si. The name San fo-t'si

6. Damais (*Op.cit.*, pp. 405 ff.) has discussed the use of the word in Old-Javanese charters.

7. De Casparis (*Op.cit.*, pp. 164-70) has stated that the term is the shortened form of Bara(buḍur), but Damais (*Op.cit.*, 391 ff.) has criticised the views of the former as untenable.

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occurs in the Chinese annals from the beginning of the tenth century to the fourteenth century A.D. Samboja is also known to be a late Javanese form of the same name. It is evident here that both *San* and *Sam* stand for the Old-Javanese honorific *Sang*. Fo-t'si and Boja, of course stand for Vijaya. When this Sinicised/Javanised name appeared in Sanskrit garb, the honorific *Śrī* came to be used in place of *San* and *Sam*.[8] Hence San fo-t'si=Samboja=Śrīvijaya. So we may admit that Sambhāra=Sang Bhāra. Let us now turn our attention to the second component of the name, viz. Bhāra. In Old-Javanese language the transmutation of *bha* to *ba* is not an unusual phenomenon as words like *bhaksana, bheri, bhāsaṇa' bhikṣu, bhīma, bhūta*, etc., to quote a few examples at random; have easily got into the garb of *bakṣana, bahiri, bāsana, biku, bima, buta*, etc. If this be the position, there need be no difficulty in equating Sambhāra with Sang Bara, [8a] the latter being the shortened form of Bara (buḍur). Here the word Bhāra may signify: a charge, weight, important, etc. Can this be due to the fact that this is a relic-bearing hill, a *kamūlān?* I therefore agree with de Casparis in regard to the equation of the name Sambhāra with Bara (buḍur), but not on the same grounds nor do I concur with his explanation of the name,[9] as will be explained later on. His explanation has also been questioned by others.[10] It seems to me that although (Sam) bhāra may be equated with the term Bara,

8. Examples occur in Old-Jav. records. It may be recalled that names of localities like Sang Hyang Hujung (*Nāg.*, 14/2.3), Sang Hyang Api (*Nāg.*, occur among the dependencies of Majapahit. Names beginning with the Sanskrit honorific *Śrī* are also found in old charters of Indonesia. Such are, for instance, the names of Śrī Maṇḍaki (De Casparis, *op.cit.*, Inscription of Tulang Air I *b* 25), Śrī Maṅgala (OJO II, v°1). The names of Śrī Suravasa, Śrī Vijaya are well-known. There are other examples as well. In the mainland of India, names like Śrī Nālandā, Śrī Odantapurī, etc., occur quite often in Buddhist writings (e.g. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, 1963—edn., pp. 50, 71; Tāranātha, *dGos-'dod-kun-'byung*, Banaras edn., 1964, pp. 192 ff.). In modern times, the name of Śrī Laṅkā as the name of Ceylon easily attracts attention.

8a. Gonda says (*Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 246) that Skt. *Bhāra* is pronounced by the Malays in two ways: *bahara* and *bara*.

9. "The Mountain of Accumulation of Virtue of the (Ten) Stages (of the Bodhisattva)".

10. For example by Damais, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

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it seems difficult to trace bhūdhara in Buḍur on account of valid linguistic objections put forward by Damais.[11] The earlier explanations of the name have not been found to be satisfactory from different points of view, nor can we offer a more satisfactory explanation for the second part of the name i.e. Buḍur, but one thing has struck me. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama,* canto 77, 1–3, we come across, among the *kasugatan kabajradharan akramā,* i.e. places of thunderbolt–bearing Buddhists living married according to custom, the names of Bĕru and Buḍur. Since a village of the name of Barabuḍur exists in the vicinity of the hill, could Bĕru, a corrupt form of Bara (from Bhāra), signify the stūpa–hill, Buḍur represented the monastic establishment? It is not impossible that some monks of the highest order of the Vajradhara–sect might have also stayed, at least for some time, on the stūpa–hill, because in v. 15 of the Kayumvungan inscription the Jina–temple has also been called a vihāra. In any case, this combination of Bĕru and Buḍur gives us the nearest phonetical and geographical approach to the name Barabuḍur.

Now, if Sambhāra refers to Bara (buḍur), its *kamūlān* or relic has to be sought for here. A shrine in the form of a terminal stūpa is here, but Barabuḍur has revealed no sign of tunnelling in the hill to deposit the relic, and diggings have yielded hardly anything by way of reliquary.[12] It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that if any Buddhist relic was brought from any other country, as Anorahta, king of Burma, did at a later period,[13] it must have been

11. *Op.cit.*, 390 ff. In the transmutation of the term *bhūdhara* to *buḍur,* the elision of *a*-final is perhaps admissible, because, in spoken language, such elision is quite conceivable. In current languages of eastern India derived from Sanskrit, this is so. Damais has adduced examples of written words, but we can not be sure how these words were actually pronounced in earlier times. We can no doubt detect traces of oral speech in Old-Javanese language, but even if they support the absence of accent on *a*-final, still the transmutation of *dha* into *ḍu* cannot be easily defended. It is however interesting to observe in this connexion that a Bengali poet of the last generation and unacquainted with the problems of the name of Barabuḍur sanskritised the name as Barabhūdhara ("the most excellent hill").

12. Regarding the reliquary of Barabuḍur, vide Krom, *Barabuḍur* I, p. 653.

13. He brought it from Ceylon. Vide Phayre, *History of Burma* (1967), p. 36.

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placed in the cavity of the image at the terminal stūpa.[14] Such an image might have been made of gold or bronze, probably the former, which the wealth of the Śailendra monarchs would have justified and which is attested for the later period by Chau Ju-kua himself, as will be discussed later on. If the Kayumvungan inscription be the foundation-charter of Barabuḍur, it is worthwhile to note that this inscription describes the image of the apotheosised king Indra dazzling as part of the Moon. The deification of kings thus starts in a regular way in Java, and the Kayumvungan inscription is instructive from this point of view, because the building constructed has been described as a temple of Jina, but the image installed therein has been that of the apotheosised king Indra. It means that he has been identified with a Buddhist divinity. We can now postulate that the icon of the deity seated in the great vajra-paryaṅkāsana at the summit of the hill i.e. at the terminal stūpa was fashioned in the image of the king and served as the palladium of the dynasty.

Now, if the Kayumvungan inscription be the foundation charter of Barabuḍur, the consequences flowing from that conclusion must be squarely faced. Verse 8 of the inscription says that the temple of Jina was established *in this village*. This village being so very obvious to the writer of the inscription, no further specification of the village has been given. Can it refer to the village where the *śailastha śūra*, i.e. 'hero of the lofty hill', was seated? Indeed, the inscription envisages a structure where the image is made of gold or bronze and the visitors have to ascend the altar by flights of steps (verse 12).

Now, this temple of Jina was called Venuvana. If the Kayumvungan inscription be the foundation-charter of Barabuḍur, this Venuvana should have been identified with the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur, but de Casparis who first proposed the identification of Sambhāra with Barabuḍur sought for its *kamūlān* in the

14. I have seen several such pedestals in the courtyard of the Anurādhapur Museum in Ceylon in 1968. An 18th-century image of Dhyānī Buddha of the National Museum, New Delhi, has only recently yielded from its cavity many relics, such as stones, half a dozen scrolls, chain, herbs, a whole range of clothes, etc.

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subsidiary temple–complex of Pavon–Mendut. Whatever one may think of this proposition, it is possible to assume, on theoretical considerations, that king Indra's *kāmūlān* could only lie at Sambhāra–Barabuḍur, the greatest of the Śailendra monuments, by a grateful descendant of the king, who was apparently the most outstanding ruler of the dynasty. If this be so, the conclusion becomes almost irresistible that he was the founder of the dynasty.

The founder of a dynasty has necessarily to be its earliest ruler. Can this condition be fulfilled in the case of king Indra? We meet him in the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 A.D.,[15] but could he rule earlier? In the Ligor inscription, dated 775 A.D.,[16] Face A, we find reference to Śrīvijayēndrarāja, by which I understand king Indra (Indra + Rāja) of Śrīvijaya. Other designations of the same king found in other parts of this inscription call him Śrīvijayeśvara–bhūpati and Śrīvijayanrpati, though the usual and common title should have been, as already pointed out by Stutterheim,[17] "Śrī–vijayarāja." It must be admitted that a difficulty is created by the first two epithets of the king. The use of the terms Indra and rāja in the first epithet and Īśvara and bhūpati in the second, of which one term would appear to be redundant in both, indicates that the words Indra and Īśvara must bear special significance. It seems to me that the name of king Indra has been given in the first epithet and, in the second epithet, he has been equated with Īśvara, i.e. god. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the middle and the last terms in the first two epithets bearing the same meaning have been used side by side.

There are also other considerations. It would indeed be sur–prising if the charter after showering the choicest epithets in the first four ślokas of this inscription, would not mention the name of the king in the fifth śloka where this is due. Not that the elision of the name of the king is impossible, but in an inscription of ten ślokas consisting of forty pādas where the names of the

15. *Tijd. Bat., Genoot.*, 68 (1928), pp. 1 ff.

16. *BEFEO*, XVIII, (6), pp. 29-30; Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava-rule*, pp. 22-23.

17. *A Javanese period in Sumatran History*, p. 18.

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royal monks have not been forgotten, it would be rather unusual to find the name of the king absent. Besides, Face A of the Ligor inscription begins with *yasya* (i.e. 'whose') and without any benedictory formula, which would be most unusual for the writer of the Ligor inscription, as he was well-versed in both rhetoric and prosody of Sanskrit. Chhabra was therefore justified[18] in proposing that Face A of the Ligor inscription is really a continuation of Face B, which begins with the usual benedictory formula *svasti*. There are no doubt some palaeographical[19] and other difficulties which cannot be explained easily. For instance, Chhabra has stated that Face B of the inscription is "considerably damaged"; in fact, here the writing is better preserved than in Face A. Still it ends abruptly, without stating clearly the object for which the inscription was written. The reason for the abrupt ending of the inscription is not likely to be known in future, but could this mean that the writer of the inscription died suddenly, making Face B inauspicious for further writing, and a second writer had to be requisitioned to complete the job on the other Face of the inscription? Apart from these problems, there is no inherent or insuperable difficulty in considering the two inscriptions as one and pertaining to a Śailendra monarch of Śrīvijaya, thus taking us back to the position where Coedès had taken us earlier.

It is quite conceivable that the Śrīvijayan monarch, after subjugating Sumatra, Bangka and part of western Java, would like to secure control of the Isthmus at the neck of the Malay Peninsula. The Ligor inscription testifies to that fact in 775 A.D. It is true that the dynastic name of the Śrīvijayan monarch is not given in Face A of the Ligor inscription, but there is no bar either to suppose that king Indra of Śrīvijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty. If Face A & B belong to the same inscription, but in

18. *Op.cit.*, p. 21. To avoid introducing confusion into the subject, I have maintained the nomenclature of Dr. Coedès, i.e. the longer portion (29 lines) has been called Face A and the shorter one Face B.

19. I made a brief study of the palaeography in the two faces of the inscription. I find, for instance, that *jā* in the two inscriptions has not been uniformly written (Cf. 3rd and 10th lines in A and 1st line in B) the long medial *ī* is entirely different (lines 1, 3, 14 in A and 2 in B), no virāma-sign is found at the end of the *śloka* in Face B,—a thing uniformly noticed in face A.

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reverse order, as explained above, there is no difficulty in the matter, but even if the two faces are separate, there are still some points in favour of this proposition, as pointed out by K. A. N. Sastri.[20] If we remember that the pre-nāgarī scripts, associated with the Śailendra monarchs of Java, have been found inscribed on disc/stone slab at Muara Takus and Tanjong Medan in Sumatra and the antique-style stūpas of Muara Takus bear resemblance with those of Ligor referred to above, these facts would plead in favour of the view that king Indra of Face A of the Ligor inscription was a member of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya. Although there are slight variations in the palaeography of Faces A & B, as pointed out above, there is hardly any doubt that these Faces were inscribed contemporaneously or almost contemporaneously. In that context, it would be difficult to imagine two sovereigns ruling in the Ligor region at approximately the same time. No court-poet, far less the flamboyant writers of the Ligor inscriptions, would have missed this opportunity to shower more epithets on their royal patrons if one was defeated by the other. In fact, none of the inscriptions on the two Faces suggest any conflict between the Śailendra and Śrīvijaya monarchs.

The name Śailendra seems also to have a Sumatran origin. The word is composed of two parts, viz. Śaila + Indra. If the argument postulated above be accepted, it would appear that king Indra is the earliest ruler of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya. The name Śailendra could then very well have been derived from the *śaila* i.e. hill of Bukit Seguntang which looms large in the background of the Śrīvijayan capital of Palembang and was naturally stamped in the Indonesian mind as the abode of gods. This *śaila* and the king's name Indra might have suggested the nomenclature of the Śailendra dynasty.

Indeed, mountain-capitals were favoured in those days from defence and religious points of view. Besides Sumatra, in another part of South-East Asia, I mean Cambodia, the same custom was being followed. King Jayavarman II (802-50 A.D.), after his return from Java, established his capital on Mount Mahendra

20. *History of Śrīvijaya*, p. 46.

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(Phnom Kulen). When he and his successors gave up their residence on Mahendraparvata, they built other temple-mountains in the heart of their subsequent capitals. The analogy may be extended to the case of Śrīvijayan Śailendra monarch Indra. Palembang-Chaiya-Barabuḍur would then fall into a well-established pattern as regional and State capitals.

I now propose to identify king Indra of Face A of the Ligor inscription with king Indra of the Kĕlurak inscription. The evidence is not conclusive—this is not likely to be so until fresh positive evidence crops up—but still the pre-nāgarī script and the Vajrādhara cult in both Sumatra and Central Java at about the same time with identical names of kings in both the cases would plead in favour of this proposition. They should thus belong to the same dynasty.

This interpretation of facts would make it reasonable to hold the view that king Indra of Śrīvijaya assumed, in commemoration of some victory or for some other important event in his life, the name of Viṣṇu, with the title of śrī mahārāja according to the Indonesian custom which allows change of name on important occasions of life. The qualifications attributed to Viṣṇu, such as, "(who) entirely (destroys) the pride of all (his foes) and (who) is, in his might, without a second—that self-same one is called by the designation of śrī mahārāja (i.e. illustrious great king)" were not likely to have been employed in regard to a vassal under an overlord, but were more suitable for a sovereign ruler. I therefore feel that Indra-Viṣṇu-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya refer to the same person.

This brings us to the question of śrī mahārāja rake panaṅgkaran of the Kalasan inscription.[21] If the Śrīvijayan Śailendra authority was established in Malaya in or about 775 A.D., we find the Śailendras also firmly established in power in Central Java in the year 778 A.D. under rake Panaṅgkaran with the title of Śrī Mahārāja. He is again found in the Kĕdu charter of 907 A.D. immediately after sang ratu Sañjaya, a Śaivite ruler, who has

21. *Journ. Bombay Br. Royal As. Soc.*, 17 (1887-89), pp. 1-10; *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 1928, pp. 58-60.

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been described in the Caṅgal inscription[22] (v. 11) as having "overthrown many circles of feudal lords". The charter states that "for obtaining tranquility", king Sañjaya established on the Vukirhill a liṅga with all auspicious marks. It seems to me that there is an echo of this in the otherwise corrupt *Carita Parahyangan*[23] which depicts king Sañjaya as a mighty conqueror who had subjugated among other States, Sumatra and Malaya. Krom[24] has not ruled out the possibility of overseas expeditions of king Sañjaya. Now, these facts or traditions have some bearings on the present discussion. Indeed, Poerbatjaraka had already utilised some data of the *Carita Parahyangan* and had observed that, according to this work, Panaraban was the son of Sañjaya and when writing this name there was distinct possibility of Panaraban being misunderstood for the original Panaṅgkaran. Now, the *Carita Parahyangan* says: "'Says rahyang Sañjaya, instructing his son R. Panaraban, i.e. R. Tamperan, I request you not to follow my religion, because I am afraid of many people.'"[25] In view of the desire of "many people" who were apparently agitating for the introduction of Vajrayāna Buddhism (Vajradhara-cult), Panaraban-Panaṅgkaran, the son of the Śaivite king Sañjaya, adopted this faith, while still perhaps a student at Śrīvijaya or later on. It may be recalled in this connexion that later generations considered Sañjaya and Sinḍok, respectively, to be the founders of dynasty, and no intermediate ruler is accorded this honour by posterity. One may therefore be inclined to believe that Panaṅgkaran might be a descendant and immediate successor to the throne of Sañjaya.

If the identification of Panaraban of the *Carita Parahyangan* with Panaṅgkaran be admitted, at least as a working hypothesis, it would at once explain why he made a complete break with the

22. Kedu-charter in *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 67 (1927), pp. 172 ff. The latest edition of the Caṅgal inscription by H. B. Sarkar in *Journ. As. Soc.*, I (1959), pp. 183 ff.

23. *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 59 (1920), pp. 403, 416 ff.

24. *Hindoe-Jav. Geschiedenis*, p. 126.

25. The data have been utilised by Poerbatjaraka in his own way in the *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 114 (1958), pp. 257 ff.

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past in religion, royal title and the script of his inscriptions. It is noteworthy that while Sañjaya has been described as having subdued many neighbouring countries and the *Carita Parahyangan* has endorsed his military activities, the Ligor inscription has not also attributed any specific military conquest to Śrīvijayēndrarāja. In fact, two generations of royal monks living under the same king bespeak of peaceful exercise of authority. This seems to indicate that this king inherited a peaceful kingdom both in Sumatra and Malaya, as a successor to king Sañjaya of Mataram. Indra possibly took possession of Central Java at some unspecified date before 778 A.D., but the circumstances are obscure.

Van Naerssen has doubted whether rake Panaṅgkaran was at all a Śailendra king,[26] but existing data do not negative the proposition either. He is even called a mahārāja. It may be recalled in this connexion that the famous Kedu charter of 907 A.D. begins with him the series of kings with the familiar title of Śrī Mahārāja. The writer of the inscription thus deliberately distinguishes king Sañjaya with the title of *ratu,* while all the other rulers named therein and beginning with rake Panaṅgkaran bear the title of Śrī Mahārāja. Its explanation is to be found in Face B of the Ligor inscription which has the following statement to make regarding Viṣṇu: "The self-same (person) is known by the appellation of Śrī Mahārāja *because of* the mention of his origin in the Śailendravaṃśa. "It is likely therefore that rake Panaṅgkaran could not have been given the title of Mahārāja (Kalasan inscription) or Śrī Mahārāja without belonging to that dynasty. We find Indra again in 782 A.D., when he is called Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya. It might have been his coronation-name in Java or name adopted by him after his initiation to Vajrayāna Buddhism (Vajradhara-cult) at an unspecified date before 782 A.D., as any one of these events was sufficient to justify the assumption of a new name. If this view be correct and the hypothesis formulated above be considered reasonable, it would appear that king Indra-Viṣnu-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya is the founder of the Śailendra-dynasty. Dr. Coedès has already accepted this identification, making my burden lighter. The above consideration therefore led me to believe that rake Panaṅgkaran was a Śai-

26. *India Antiqua* (1947), pp. 249 ff.

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lendra-king and that this title represents the Indonesian epithet of king Indra-Viṣṇu-Saṅgrāmadhananjaya.

I have made this lengthy digression to show that the Buddhist image on the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur bore the features of king Indra as the founder of the Śailendra-dynasty and that his relic was placed therein by a grateful descendant, thus making Barabuḍur a stūpa of *kamūlān* in the conventional sense of the term.

II

Let us now try to find out the identity of the godhead on the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur. The inscriptional data make it clear that the Śailendra kings subscribed to the advanced form of Buddhism known as Vajrayāna. It may be recalled that the Vajrayāna system had developed in Bengal and the contemporary Pāla monarchs, viz. Dharmapāla (770-810 A.D.) and Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.), offered it royal patronage. If the stūpa of Barabuḍur was constructed by Samarottuṅga, as it appears to be, the work must have covered a part of the reigns of both the Bengal kings and must have been finished by 824 A.D.

For the religious inspiration of such a stupendous structure having national and international significance, one has to turn attention to eastern India, where a particular cult of the Vajrayāna-system held sway. The story of the evolution of that cult is quite interesting and may be briefly noted here. It may be recalled that there was a noticeable pantheistic trend in the Vajrayāna system in the early centuries of the Christian era. The five Dhyānī Buddhas had already entered into the Buddhist pantheon by the third century A.D. along with their respective Śaktis, as the *Guhyasamājatantra* would make us believe. By the seventh century A.D., the pantheon was enormous, though the Vajrayānists knew that the hosts of gods and goddesses were really *śūnya* in essence. It was therefore found imperative to evolve a primordial god. Thus was developed by the Nālandā-monks the conception of the primordial god Ādi Buddha who, in his human manifestation, is called Vajradhara. He is a monotheistic god, an embodiment of *śūnya*, to whom even the Dhyānī Buddhas owe their origin.

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The conception of this monotheistic god was already well-known in the first half of the eighth century A.D., because Śāntarakṣita, high-priest of the monastery of Nalanda, who later on went to Tibet during the reign of Thi-srong-deu-tsan (b. 728, d. 786 A.D.) and was appointed the first abbot of the vihāra called Sam-yas in 749 A.D., had already composed a *Vajradhara-saṃgīta-bhagavat-stotra-ṭīkā*.[27] The establishment of the Pāla empire in the middle of the 8th century gave the cult powerful support and its adherents became numerous in the reign of Dharmapāla. The cult spread to Tibet, Sumatra ad Java, among other places. We cannot definitely say who was responsible for the introduction of this cult in the Śailendra-kingdom of Central Java, but there are perhaps some indications in the Śailendra inscriptions. It may be recalled that an image of Ārya Tārā was installed by an un-named preceptor of the Śailendra-king Panaṅgkaran, whom we identify with king Indra. Now the Kĕlurak inscription tells us that Indra-Śaṅgrāmadhanañjaya was initiated by his preceptor who came from Gauḍīdvīpa, i.e. West Bengal, and was no other than Kumāraghoṣa who has been mentioned in a later part of the inscription. Doubtless he was a *vajrācārya guru* from Pāla Bengal. It may be recalled that Tāranātha, a Tibetan historian, writing in 1608 A.D. on the basis of older records available to him, says that the Vajradharas had gained ascendancy in the kingdom of Dharmapāla,[28] and Buddhajñānapāda, a preceptor of king Dharmapāla and Vajrācārya of the Vikramaśīla monastery advised the king to perform *homa* and this was done for many years by the Vajradharas with this *ācārya* as their chief. It is clear therefore that king Dharmapāla had a preceptor who was an adept in the Vajradhara cult. Kumāraghoṣa who went to Java with the image of Manjuśrī[29] in the reign of Dharmapāla seems to have been a similar

27. L. Chimpa and A. Chattopadhyaya, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, p. 415.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 280, 322.

29. Verse 10 of the Kĕlurak inscription says: ".....this image (of Manjuśrī) was obtained by me through the kindness of the *guru*." Obviously it was brought from Pāla Bengal. The mention of "blue lotus and specification of the Dhyānī Buddhas in the inscription seem to indicate that the image in question was of the Mañjuvara-variety of Manjuśri. Vide, B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 117. Other varieties have different combinations of symbols, etc.

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preceptor, though not necessarily attached to the royal court of Bengal. It seems very probable that Kumāraghoṣa initiated the Śailendra-king Indra to this cult. As Vajradhara is another name of Indra, the king's vanity must have received a halo-mark by this equation.

Now, Kumāraghoṣa was in Java in 782 A.D. when king Dharmapāla of Bengal, a devotee of the cult, had already ruled for 12 years. It is well-known that there was close religious and cultural connexion between Java and Bengal during the period we are speaking of. It is therefore interesting to note that some scholars find references in the Nālandā charter[30] to matrimonial relationship between the two royal dynasties. The Nālandā charter says: "Tārā was the queen consort of that king (i.e. Samarāgravīra) and was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu of the lunar race." The name Dharmasetu has been read as Varmasetu by N. G. Majumdar, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar considers the latter reading as "beyond doubt."[31] But if one reads Dharmasetu and identifies him with king Dharmapāla of Bengal it will furnish an additional proof of the close ties subsisting between the Pālas and the Śailendra-rulers. Dr. Coedès is however inclined to identify this Dharmasetu with the king of Śrīvijaya who built the sanctuary that prompted the inscription on the first Face of the Ligor inscription.[32]

Even if princess Tārā be not a daughter of king Dharmapāla, the stamp of the Vajradhara-cult, patronised by the Pāla king, has been very distinct in the Śailendra empire. It is well-known that traces of the sect have been found in Sumatra.[33] So far as Java is concerned, the influence of the sect has been impressive down the centuries. There are grounds to believe that the stūpa of Barabuḍur was managed by, if it did not exclusively belong to,

30. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 310.

31. *Suvarṇadvīpa* I, p. 153, f.n. 1.

32. *The Indianized states of South-East Asia*, p. 109.

33. Vide in this connexion, *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 35, pp. 48-74; *Not. Bat. Genoot.*, 1920, pp. 52 ff.; Tijd. Bat. Genoot., 67, pp. 173 ff.; Stutterheim, *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, pp. 13 ff.

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the Vajradhara-sect.[34] It is interesting to observe in this connexion that an Old-Javanese treatise called *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, of which another part goes under the name of *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Matranaya*, throws much light on the prevalence of the cult in Central Java.[35] The text extols the Vajradhara-cult and refers to novitiates, initiation, etc. Some parts of the work appear to be older than others. Goris is given the credit for disentangling three layers of the text. He believed that "the older part already existed during the Śailendra-period as a commentary to a Sanskrit work."[36] It has been suggested by another scholar that the system of Barabuḍur is the same as that of the oldest part[37] of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*. The details in the tract do not contain enough materials to warrant such a categorical statement, but whatever we have is not repugnant to the religious concept of Barabuḍur.

Barabuḍur was, as we have tried to show, a sepulchral monument containing the relics of the founder of the Śailendra dynasty, besides being a replica of the universe. In the latter sense, the summit or the terminal stūpa constituted the *arūpadhātu* (or formless sphere) of the Buddhist cosmology; the second sphere constituted the sphere of forms or *rūpadhātu*, the lowest being the *kāmadhātu* or the phenomenal world we live in. Buddha is said to manifest himself in these three worlds in appropriate forms, namely, with *dharmakāya* in the *arūpadhātu*, with *sambhogakāya* in the *rūpadhātu* and with *nirmānakāya* in the *kāmadhūtu*. The terminal *stūpa* was thus the abode of the formless. This concept seems also to have been developed in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*. I should like to invite a reference to the well-known statement in that work which reads: "i taṇḍas nikang stūpa prāsāda śarīra ngka ta kahanan bhaṭara hyang buddha masamāhitarūpa

34. Stutterheim believed that it belonged to the Vajradhara sect. Vide, his *Studies*, etc., p. 54.

35. *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, 1910, ed. J. Kats; *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, 1935, ed. Wulff.

36. *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, (1926), pp. 151 ff.

37. Recension A.

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nira ngkana." Mr. Kats[38] has translated the line thus: "In the head of the stūpa-prāsāda body, there is the place of Bhaṭāra Buddha, in Samādhi-attitude he dwells there." If we can conceive of Barabuḍur as having a stūpa-prāsāda body,[39] its head would naturally be the terminal stūpa, which is the place of the Lord Holy Buddha seated in samāhitarūpa. Now this Bhaṭārā Hyang Buddha sitting at the apex of the stūpa-prāsāda is a *hyang* or spirit and *arūpadhātu* i.e. formless, but since he is also samāhitarūpa i.e. seated in samādhi (meditation) i.e. dhyānāsana or vajraparyaṅkāsana, he can be viewed as Ādi Buddha, an embodiment of *śūnya*, in his human manifestation i.e. Vajradhara. The concept of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, as I understand it, is not therefore repugnant to the concept of Barabuḍur or the preamble of the Kayumvungan inscription.

With this knowledge gained from a theoretical consideration of the matter and indirect evidence provided by literature, inscriptions and the archaeology of Barabuḍur, we may now consider the cases of various deities for a place in the sanctum sanctorum, the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur. Such statues may be the unfinished statue of the Dhyānī Buddha, the statue of Buddha, of Vairocana, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. Let us examine these cases one by one from iconographical and scriptural point of view.

It seems to me that the unfinished statue of the Dhyānī Buddha, supposed by some to be the original image on the terminal stūpa, does not belong to that place. It appears that the Dhyānī Buddhas in the lower terraces conform to the demands of religious prescriptions and occupy the cardinal points. Since this unfinished statue sits in bhūmi-ṣparśamudrā, it doubtless refers to Akṣobhya, as other Dhyānī Buddhas sit respectively in samādhi, (Amitabha), dharmacakra (Vairocana), abhaya (Amoghasiddhi) and in varada (Ratnasambhava) attitude. It is important to note that he is

38. Folio 48b, translation, p. 104.

39. The phrase is controversial and I shall not attempt its explanation here. The data have also been utilised by Stutterheim, but in a different way (op. cit., pp. 48 ff, 58 ff.). In this connexion, see also Wulfi., *op.cit.*, 5 and 70; Mus, *Barabuḍur* I, pp. 324 ff.

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already represented in the cardinal points in the lower terraces and his location in the terminal stūpa would be somewhat anomalous. From that point of view, Vairocana could have better claim for room in the terminal stūpa. It may be urged in his favour that he is regarded by the Nepalese Buddhists as the oldest and the first Dhyāni Buddha and his place is in the sanctum of the stūpa, where he is the master of the whole temple and its contents.[40] He cannot be ordinarily represented outside the stūpa. A statue of Vairocana, which has disappeared, could have thus remarkably fitted into the theological demands of the terminal stūpa. Similarly, it is possible to conceive of an image of the mortal Buddha himself, sitting there in the vajraparyaṅkāsana, with earth-touching attitude, a mudrā peculiar to Akṣobhya also, for which reason it is impossible to distinguish the two images, unless colour or any other indication comes to our aid. Be that as it may, the image of the mortal Buddha, as described above, was very popular throughout the Buddhist world and was the main centre of attraction at Bodh Gaya between the 7th and the 10th century of the Christian era.[41] If we however imagine that since the lower terraces represent the four Dhyāni Buddhas at cardinal points, the installation of the image of Buddha in earth-touching attitude, though not unthinkable, would be rather unbecoming, specially if we remember relevant details in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* which extols the blessings conferred by the contemporary flourishing cult of Vajradhara.

Vajradhara is sometimes identified with Vajrasattva,[42] for which reason the place of Vajradhara in folios 15a, 16a and 16b of the *S. H. Kamahāyānikan* has been occupied by Vajrasattva. Even in India, Vajrasattva has sometimes been taken as one of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and at other times as the sixth. This confusion both in India and Java led the writer of the tract/its commentator to substitute him in folio 58b in the place of Akṣobhya. The reverse has also occurred. This equation of Vajrasattva with

40. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p 53.

41. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 352.

42. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 23.

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Akṣobhya in the *S. H. Kamahāyānikan* would not appear surprising if we remember that Vajrasattva is a regular development of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who emanated from Akṣobhya, but unfortunately the conception of Vajradhara and Vajrasattva has been inextricably mixed up in sacred literature.[43] It is however worthwhile to note in this connexion that since Vajrasattva is not represented in the stūpa like other Dhyanī Buddhas, but has his own separate shrine, its statue is not likely to have been set up in the terminal stūpa. The elimination of Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva thus leaves the ground clear for Vairocana, Buddha and Vajradhara. Of these three deities, Vajradhara had the best chance of being housed in the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur. He is the principal deity of the Vajrasattvamaṇḍala and his place is in the innermost chamber of the maṇḍala.[44] He has been described thus:

"When represented in human form, he (i.e. Ādi Buddha) begets the name of Vajradhara and is conceived in two forms, single and yab-yum. When single, he is bedecked in jewels, gaudy ornaments and dress, sits in Vajraparyaṅka or the attitude of meditation with the two feet locked with the soles of the feet turned upwards. He carries the vajra in the right hand and ghaṇṭā (bell) in the left, the two hands being crossed against the chest, in what is known as the vajrahumkāramudra...The deity Vajrādhara is embodiment of the highest reality śūnya. While Prajñāpāramitā represents karuṇā and in close embrace they turn into one śūnya in which karuṇā merges, and the duality ceases."[45]

The use of singular number in regard to the deity in the Kayumvungan inscription may signify that the deity was unaccompanied by his Śakti. It may also be interpreted in a different sense, namely that since duality has ceased and that Vajradhara and his Śakti are one, the uni-dual entity of śūnya is to be treated as one indivisible whole and the use of singular number may be justified from that point of view.

43. B. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

44. *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (G.O.S.), p. 8.

45. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

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III

The next question that confronts us is: if the image of Vajradhara was in the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur, where has it gone? Other statues of Barabuḍur generally exist *in situ*, but why not the image in the sanctum sanctorum? As I have said already, the image seems to have been made of gold and served as the palladium of the dynasty. It was therefore very likely that king Bālaputradeva, the last Javanese king of the Śailendra dynasty, fled with it when he left Java for good to reign in Sumatra. As Bālaputra's descendants called themselves Śailendras for the next few centuries, it is obvious that they considered themselves to be lineal descendants of the Śailendra rulers of Java. In Java thus remained Prāmodavardhanī and her husband to continue the dynastic traditions of the Śailendras. The reason why Bālaputradeva fled with the golden image on the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur is that it served as the palladium of the dynasty, and such a palladium or *kuladevatā* has always played important role in ancient history. Its loss would have meant loss of its protection and utter ruin of the dynasty. For that very reason, invaders have tried to grab it as a most valuable prize, as it meant easy transfer of power and allegiance of the people. It may be recalled that king Sañjaya had such a palladium in the Vukir-hill liṅga and king Devasiṃha in the image of Pūtikeśvara. The succession of the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty in Central Java signified that the palladium of the dynasty will now be a Buddhist divinity. The palladiums of kings, whether Buddhist or Śaivite, have followed the fortunes of the dynasty. One may recall in this connexion the adventure of the Tooth-relic of Buddha, which was brought from India to Ceylon during the reign of king Mēghavarṇa (352–379 A.D.) and stayed on for several centuries at Anurādhapura, the first historical capital of Ceylon, as the palladium of the ruling dynasties. Then it moved from capital to capital with the varying fortunes of the kings. Thus, from Anurādhapura, it was shifted to Polunnāruva and then successively to other places including Karunagela, Dambadeniya, Gompola, Kotte and finally to Kandy where it is now kept at the Daḷada Maḷiga. Similarly, Jayavarman II, a Hindu king of Cambodia (802–50 A.D.), installed the statue of Devarāja, which

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was a Śiva-liṅga, at Phnom Kulen, as the palladium of the dynasty. The successors of Jayavarman built other temple-mountains to house the palladium. It then successively moved, along with the then kings, from Hariharālaya (Rolues) to Bakheng, Koh Ker, Phimeankas, the Baphuon, etc.

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The details furnished above will make it reasonable to hold the view that king Bālaputradeva could not have left behind him the palladium of the dynasty in the terminal stūpa of Barabudur when he left the island for good. That such was the position can also be inferred from the data preserved in *Chu fan-chi* of Chau Ju-kua who wrote the work in 1225 A.D. The evidence no doubt comes from a later period, but it doubtless records a custom which had its origin some centuries back and was current in Śrīvijaya during Chau Ju-kua's time. Now, writing about this custom, he says: "There is (in San fo-t'si) a (kind of) Buddha (i.e. image) called 'Hill of gold and silver', and it is cast in gold; each succeeding king before ascending the throne has cast a golden image to represent his person, and they are most particular to make offerings of golden vessels to these images and golden vessels all bear inscriptions to caution future generations not to melt them down ....".

In other words, such golden statues representing some Buddhist divinity was cast in the image of the reigning king and was preserved from generation to generation. If such was the custom of the successors of Bālaputradeva for many generations before the time of Chau Ju-kua, i.e. the 13th century, there is every likelihood that the custom reverts to the time of Bālaputradeva himself who brought with him the golden image of Vajradhara-Indra, the palladium of the dynasty, from the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. It would not be realistic to think that Bālaputradeva suddenly gave up the custom of deification of his predecessors, as it involved not only a sacred religious duty but also the safety of the dynasty. Besides, there is a significant phrase in the statement of Chau Ju-kua quoted above. The phrase "Buddha called Hill of Gold and Silver" reminds one of the Buddhist deity on the hill (of Barabudur), as stated in the Kayumvungan inscription, and made of gold. It thus seems to link up the custom of

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Śrīvijaya of Chau Ju-kua's time with that of Java in the Śailendra period. It is obvious however that in course of time certain modifications were introduced in the custom, as reigning kings came to be deified without waiting for being apotheosised in the reign of his successor. But that is another story.

Before I conclude, I should like to state that I recognise the insufficiency of the existing data, but I believe that the new interpretation of the data, as attempted here, does not conflict with any other known fact and may therefore merit consideration from a new point of view.

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Bhim-Betka Excavations*

BY

V. S. WAKANKAR

It is about a century that we have been in search of early man's tools all over India. The discovery of artifacts by Deterra and Patterson in Sohan and other regions opened a new field; the efforts of several scholars were directed to find similar tools embedded in river gravels all over India. Right from pebble tools to microliths are being searched for every year and now more than a thousand sites have been plotted on the Indian map but no skeletal remains have been found so far. Since the discovery of several hundred shelters in Gandhi Sagar and regions around Bhopal, I was hoping to find the remains of early man in his own permanent residential camps i.e. the hallows and deeps in rock shelters in sandstone and limestone regions of India.

Here in his later days i.e. during Mesolithic times he had started relating the stories of his achievements as hunter, expressing his emotions through dancing, his rituals as fire worship sacrifices and his hunting methods as disguised hunter, magical rituals for game and marksmanship with darts and arrows. All these have been vividly and vigorously painted on the natural walls of the caves and shelters throughout India. Since the discovery

* The recent excavations at Bhimbētka (Jan. 73) have revealed the existence of stone structures of Mesolithic period in Rock Shelter No. 23 of III F Group and a semi-circular enclosure of heavy stones made during Acheulean period in TR. IV of BHIM. IIIA-30 Rock shelter. These structures are the earliest architectural features in India. Several round structures like stupa or Megalithic burials, stones with battered marks and a huge stone resting on four supporting stones have also been discovered. It was used by shelter dwellers as warning or musical drum. The marks of beating on the drum are visible on its periphery.

The work of the season, 1973-74, is being carried out by Vikram University in collaboration with Dr. Mishra of Deccan College, Poona and Miss Sussane Haas of Basel University, Switzerland.

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of such paintings by A. Carlylle in Kaimur ranges in Mirzapur in the seventies of last century very little attention was given to this branch of archaeology.

Though Fawcett, Cockburn, Mitra, Ghosh and others had done some work in the study of caves and shelters, the real work was started by Hunter and Cordon. Lately Mr. & Mrs. Allchin's contribution is remarkable, in this field. Verma, Wakankar and Pande started exploring rock shelter study on archaeological basis.

I made an intensive study of Chambal area and attracted the attention of archaeologists to direct their efforts to find the early man's remains in and around shelters where he was residing since he learnt the art of making tools. Dr. G. R. Sharma and R. K. Varma of Allahabad University did much in the direction. R. V. Joshi and Khare did an extensive excavation at Adamgad and for the first time it was clearly established that the early man occupied the shelters early in palaeolithic times. My excavations at Modi gave for the first time the evidence of mesolithic paintings. Allahabad University's excavations revealed the burials dating back to 8000 years.

Recently Vikram University started the work of excavating and exploring one of the biggest sites of shelters in the world, which is situated on the northern out-crops of the Vindhyan sandstone hills, 26 miles south of Bhopal. This site is known as Bhimbetka (77.57 East 22.65 N). (The name is associated with the famous Mahābhārat hero Bhim and the huge boulders of sandstone are called the seats of Bhim). I discovered the site as early as 1958 and since then I have been exploring the region every year adding new shelters in the list. The efforts were assisted by Bābā Shāligrāmji of Durgā Ashram at Bhimbetka. A few years ago Dr. S. K. Pande and Chāchā Mukherjee assisted me in my explorations and we took some trial pits (50 × 50 cms) in several shelters at Kharwai, Shahadkarad and Bhimbetka and found the remains of Mesolithic and chalcolithic periods in them. In a similar dig at Bhimbetka in 1968 I went a little deep in Auditorium Rock and found middle stone age tools made of sandstone. Dr. Sankalia and I again visited the site in 1969 and finally decided to start joint excavation by Vikram University & Deccan College

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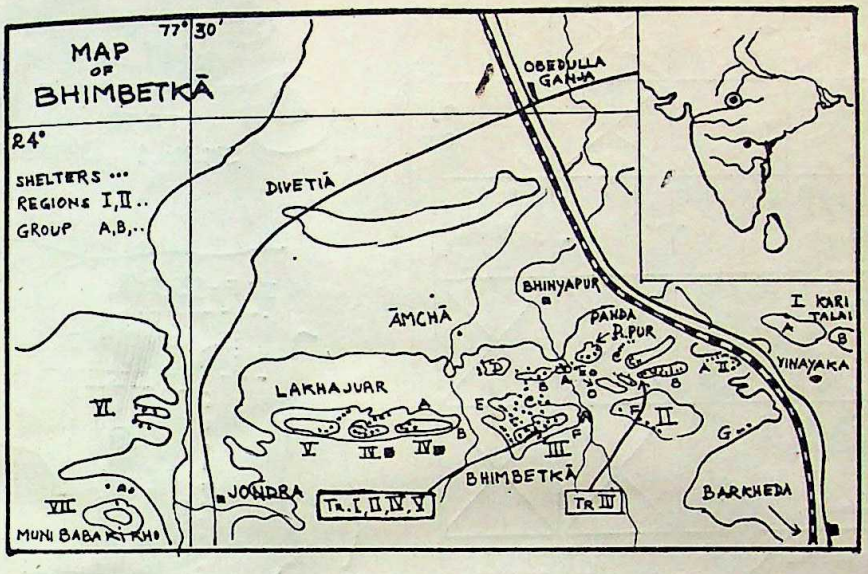

FIG. 1

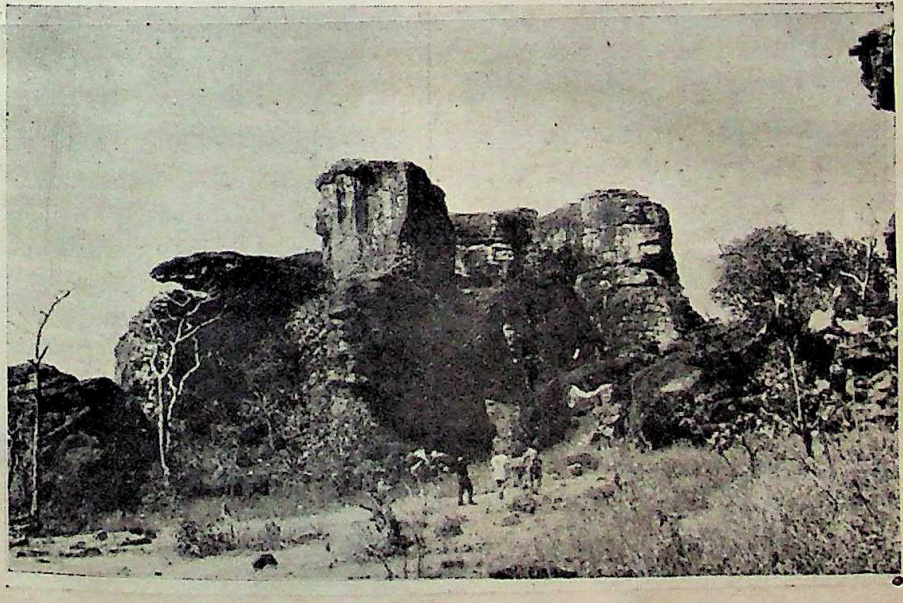

FIG. 2
Bhimbetka Auditorium Rock III F. 24 TR I & II were taken in this shelter

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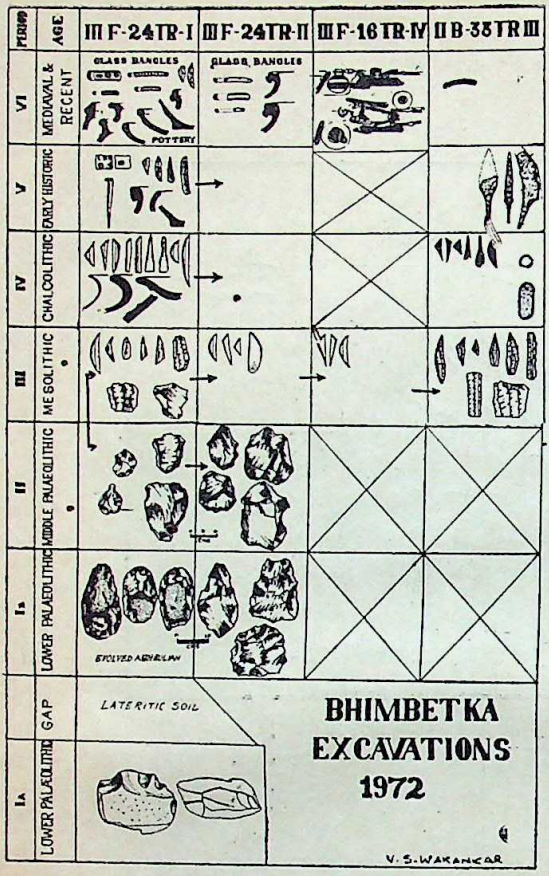

FIG. 3

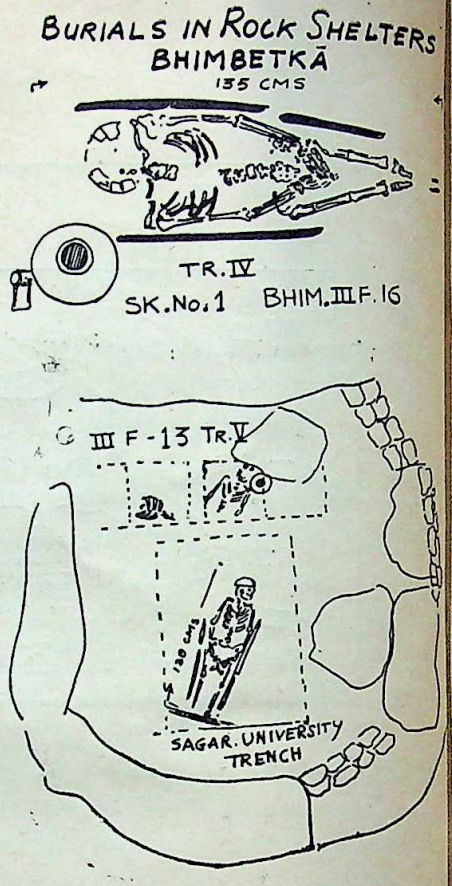

FIG. 4

FIG. 5
Bhimbetka III E—White Paintings in Zoo Rock

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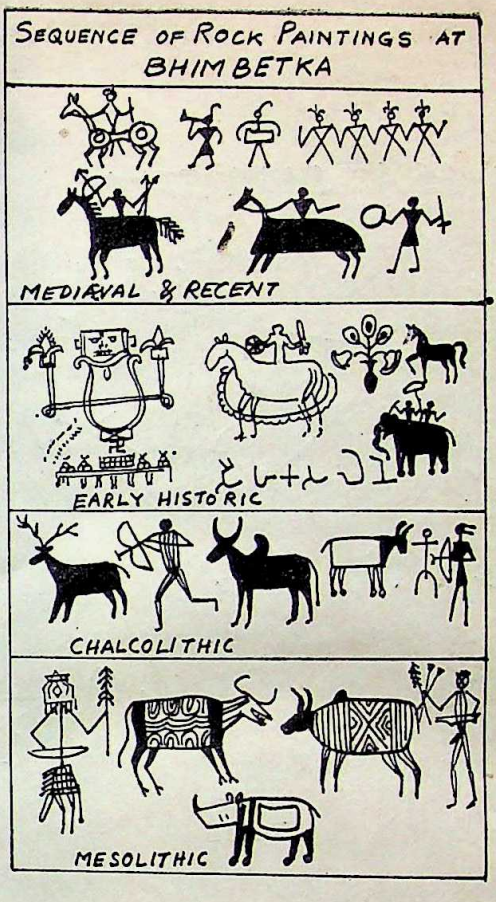
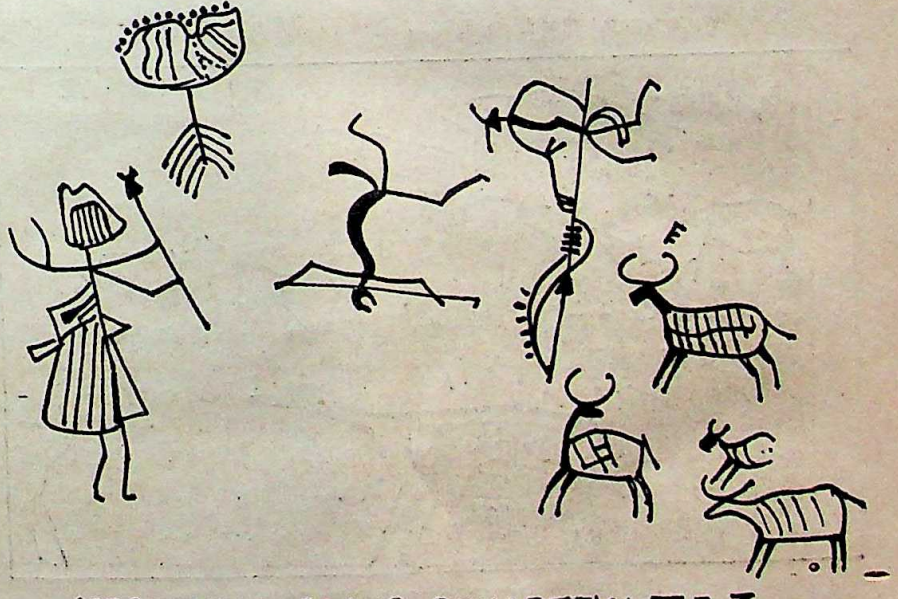


FIG. 6



MESOLITHIC GROUP. BHIMBETKA III E. 3

FIG. 7a

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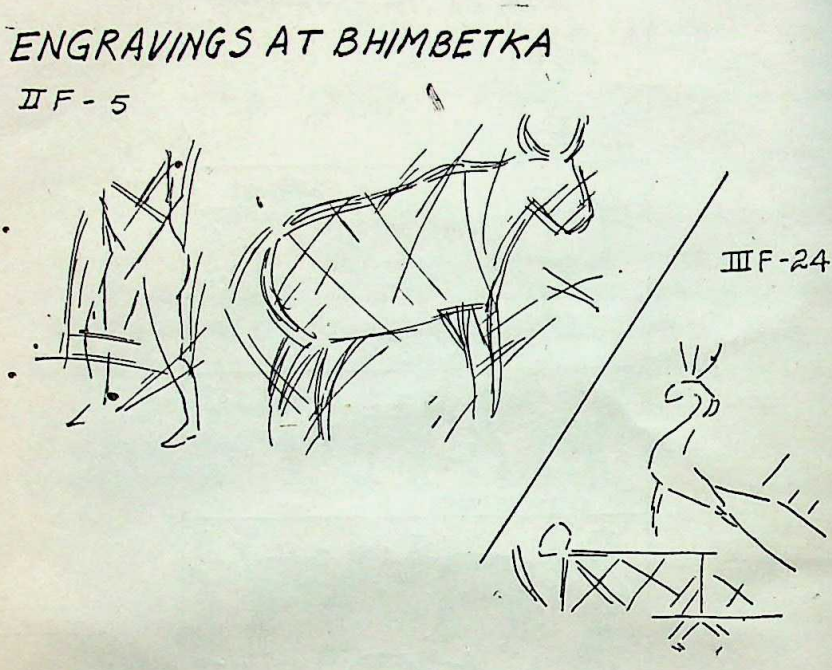

FIG. 7b

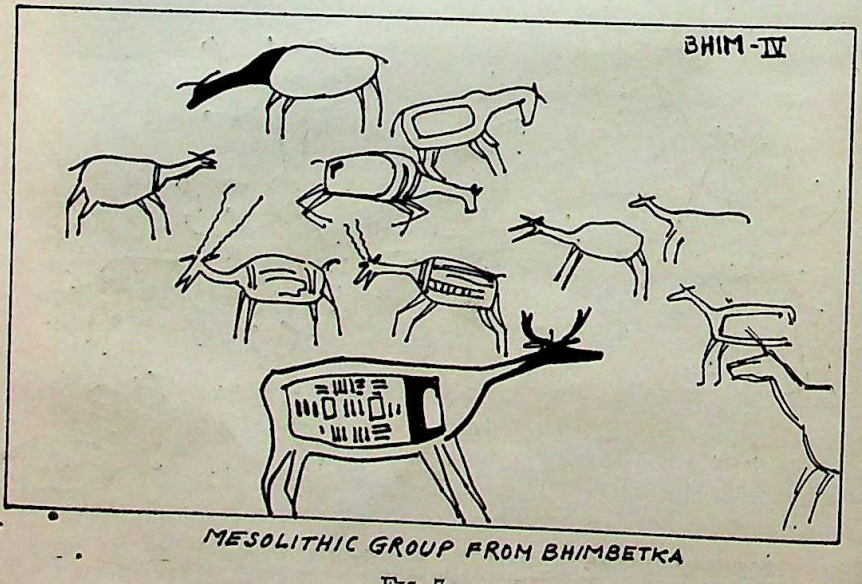

FIG. 7c

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and under the same scheme the first season's work was carried out by me assisted by four Research Scholars of Vikram University (Dr. S. K. Arya, N. A. Vyas, Daljeet Kaur Gill and J. C. Joshi). During our survey it was found out that the site extends to an approximate length of 8 miles. For a more scientific study the region was divided in VII areas and subdivided in groups of shelters. The number of shelters explored during this season reaches beyond 600 out of which over 500 are full of paintings (see Table A). We took 5 trenches in the following shelters:

BHIM — III F–24	TR I
BHIM — III F–24	TR II
BHIM — II B–33	TR III
BHIM — III F–16	TR IV
BHIM — III F–12	TR V

Following is the sequence of different trenches: (also see (Sequence charts).

Period VI Medieval and Recent Pottery.

Period V Early Historic Pottery & Microliths.

Period IV Chalcolithic Industry of microliths and Pottery.

Period III Mesolithic Industry of microliths and a few tools of upper Palaeolithic Tradition.

Period II Middle Stone age Industry.

Period Ib Acheulian Industry.

Period Ia Pebble Tool Industry.

The most important results came from TR I & II. In TR I immediately below mesolithic levels, starts the brecia in which the early stone age tools are embedded. The tools are made of sandstone. The cleavers increase in upper levels and are associated with scrappers on sandstones. The same industry of scrapers continues in upper layers without lower stone age tools and is got mixed up with mesolithic industry due to the sandy nature of the deposit. In middle levels of brecia, handaxes increase in number but the cleavers are not absent. The use of chalcedony was known to these tool makers (see Table B & C).

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The TR II in the same shelters gives an interesting sequence.

In lowest level is the lateritic soils which has yielded several pebble tools. The deposit is covered by huge weathered boulders and reddish black soil probably formed due to weathering and humus. This 60 cms thick layer is a sterile layer and no tools were obtained from it. This is covered by reddish clay and unweathered stone and evolved Acheulian industry is found in the deposit. Here we have been able to detect a working floor where tools and flakes were lying *in situ* in levels with smoothened surfaces of rocks. This was the result of constant human occupation in those times. Still upwards we found a similar horizon in which the soil is yellow ochre in colour with a slight reddish tint. The industry from this level is associated with smaller scrapers of various sizes. Period II starts with predominant scraper industry. Hollow scrapers of various dimensions and side and end scrapers of small size are the dominating tools. The clastonian flaking is the main technic of taking out flakes but levalvoisian technique is also used.

This is followed by mesolithic, chalcolithic and early historic deposits.

When we come to the upper levels of chalcolithic period we find that the man in shelter came in contact with the chalcolithic localities in Malwa plains and borrowed pottery in exchange of jungle commodities but his economy remained the same as that of mesolithic period. The tool types i.e. triangles lunates trapeze and points remain the same as that of mesolithic levels (Table C).

The remains of floor levels of Acheulian tool makers in shelters is the real achievement of these excavations and it is not impossible to find out the skeletal remains of this period either in the brecia or in other deposits in shelters.

Engravings at Bhim-betka

In rock shelter group II F, No. 4 is a beautiful group of red, white and green colour paintings. One of them is an equal-size drawing of a monkey, rest of the drawings are as usual, but the

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unique feature of this shelter is the group of tiny fine-lined engravings of human figures and bisons. These drawings are multi-lined sketches done by some fine hard point most probably a micro-burin. On the basis of stylisation they can be assigned the mesolithic date. They resemble much the Magdalenian engravings from Europe. These engravings have been made on the muddy white encrustation on the rock surface. In all there are three encrustations on the rock, earliest is highly reddish, next one is thick muddy white and over this the engravings have been made. The third is a thin dull white one which at many places clearly covered some part of the engravings.

Similar engravings of a peacock and a few other objects have been observed at Auditorium rock shelter.

In IJ B-33 and III F-24 it was observed that on the western rock wall (fallen rocks in both the cases) there had marks of battering on it which look like the South Indian neolithic gongs. Similar marks were observed at Bhainsatol Narsinh-garh and Camp rock Indergad. They are mostly to be found at the centrally located shelters. They are supposed to be for creating musical sounds to attract or call people or were done to assist dances as drum beats.

Inscriptions at Bhimbetka

There are more then fifty writings in Shankha Scripts a few in Gupta Brahmi and one engraved inscription in Asokan Brahmi script. The inscription in Asokan Brahmi is in the shelter III F-33 of Durga Ashram Rock. It is high up in a cavity which was once accessible because of a stone pavement erected during the period of the inscription. The inscription reads thus,

sihakas lene (the cave of a person named as Sihak)

The Gupta and Shankha script writings are the names of persons who either lived in these shelters or visited them. There are at least more than thirtyfive stupa like structures all over the site. Two small fortifications were observed at I-B and II-B, a long wall was observed near II-B-33 and three water tanks at the foot hills near Jamun Jhiri camp site and Lakhajuar. Some of the rock

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shelters had huge platforms which in early historic or mediaeval times were used for residential purposes.

In pre-chalcolithic levels there are absolutely no bones, but in the upper levels several bones of animals and humans have been found. A few bones of human skull have been unearthed in Tr. III (II F-33), the regular burials have been found in III F-13 and 16. In 16, a nearly complete but sufficiently damaged skeleton was exposed just below the surface layer. It is in elongated position with its hand put over one another near the pelvice, the feet portions of the skeleton are missing and just near them is the mark of firing, indicating a partial burning of the body. Near the head was a big handi which was covered by a thin piece of stone. Further below the handi was an iron object, probably an axe. It was highly damaged. The skeleton was lined with thin pieces of stones on both sides of the body. Head was mostly damaged.

In RS III F-13, where Sagar University excavations revealed a burial, one more trench was taken. Two burials were exposed in Tr. V. No. 2 burial had a similarly buried skeleton but its portion below the chest was found missing. It had a handi towards its left side near the head. The skeleton had a terracotta bead on the chest and a bone stylus near it.

The third skeleton was also badly damaged and the ribs and vertebra were the only survivals. The damage to these skeletons was caused either by wild animals or by thin deposit of soil which was trodden by men occupying the shelters after the burials.

The skeleton from Sagar University's digging had two bowls to protect the head and hence it remained protected. The bigger bowl was kept below, and the smaller over the head, the head was turned towards left side, as was the case of SK No. 1. Both the skeletons measured 133 to 138 cms. There was no regular custom to follow particular direction for the body; all had different directions.

These skeletons including the Sagar one belong to Medieval period.

The work at Bhimbetka will continue for next five years as there is every possibility of finding remains of stone age man.

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TABLE A

AREAWISE DISTRIBUTION OF ROCK SHELTERS AT BHIMBETKA

Area	Group of Shelter	Number of Shelter	Excavated Shelter	No. of trenches
I	A	7		
	B	3		
II	A	17	II B 33	TR III
	B	72		
	C	18		
	D	19		
	E	42		
	F	9		
	G	4		
III	A	41	III F 12	TR IV
	B	22	III F 16	TR III
	C	80	III F 24	TR I & II
	D	4		
	E	26		
	F	50		
IV	A	63		
	B	70		
	C	20		
V	A	15		
	B	10		
VI	A	12		
	B	8		
VII	A	10		

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TABLE B

1972

BHIM III F-24 (AUDITORIUM) TR I BRECIA PALAEOLITHIC LEVELS (3 × 2 m)

Layer & depth	Nature of the layer	Cores	Discoidal Cores	Bigger flakes	Smaller flakes	Hallow scrapers	Points or lanceolates	Side scrapers	Ovates	Cleavers	Borers	Chalcedony pieces	Hand axes	Total
45–70 cms	BRECIA	8	5	32	57	—	2	15	2	17	—	—	7	145
70–95	„	10	—	18	24	—	2	2	—	9	—	4	5	72
95–120	„	2	—	48	12	2	2	3	—	15	—	DISCOID —	5	89
120–145	„	2	—	14	24	—	5	—	2	10	—	—	10	71
145–160	„	3	—	10	11	—	5	—	—	13	—	—	11	53
160–165	„	4	2	6	9	4	—	3	—	3	1	—	9	41
		29	7	128	137	6	14	23	4	67	1	4	47	491

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TABLE C

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BHIM III F-24 (AUDITORIUM TR II — PALAEOLITHIC LEVELS)

Layer & depth	Nature of the soil	Cores		Discoidal Cores	Bigger flakes	Smaller flakes	Hallow scrapers	Side scrapers	Ovates	Hand axes	Cleavers	Borers	Jasper or chalcedony	Total
3	Smaller chips and yellow ochre soil (Muddy appearance)	3	Middle Palaeolithic	18	39	214	14	76	—	—	—	7	—	371
4	Same as above but bright yellow ochre	3		5	220	213	23	85	—	—	—	—	6	555
5A	Yellow ochre	—	Lower Palaeolithic	—	—	138	10	41	—	5	26	—	—	220
110 cms	*Acheulian floor* II													
5B 175 cms	*Big boulders with* Light red soil like deposit			4	88	285	9	41	—	12	22	—	—	461
5C 210 cms	Red soil & weathered boulders *Acheulian floor I*	—		—	144	134	12	—	13	20	25	—	—	336
6	TOTAL	6		27	347	994	190	243	13	37	73	7	6	1943
6	Reddish black soil huge boulder	No tools												
7	Lateristic deposit weathered boulders	Chopper like pebble tools							3 work continuing					

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TABLE D

BHIMBETKA BHIM. B-33 TR. III

MICROLITHIC ASSEMBLAGE

Layers	Nodules	Cores=	Triangles (obtuse)	Triangles (isosceles)	Trapeze	Lunates	Blunted back blades	Awls	Points	Smaller flakes	Blades Broad and bigger	Flakes irregular	Chips	Total	Percentage	
1.	Stone pavement of late medieval period															
2.	145	80	58	15	6	110	28	—	51	528	24	3	1100	2148	—	Early historic pottery, Iron knife, Arrow head
3.	2386	116	206	71	12	349	87	6	383	2264	387	512	11395	18174	—	Malwa chalcolithic pottery, Three copper objects
4.	1654	259	81	22	6	598	18	30	58	1048	1089	510	19170	24595	—	No pottery
Total	4084	455	345	108	24	1057	133	36	492	3832	1529	1025	30565	54667	—	—
%																

Total tools 9017 Nodules 4085 Chips 1565

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Cilappatikaram as A Treatise on Dance

BY

LEELA OMCHERY

Part–I

Cilappatikāram is considered to be the foremost among the *Pañcamahā kāvyas* of the Tamil Sangam epoch, which is said to have lasted over the period between 5th century B.C. to 4th century A.D. The story of this epic moves around Kōvalan, a young merchant of Kāvēripūm–paṭṭiṇam, Mādhavi, an Apsara–like dancing courtesan, in whose love, the young merchant forgets all about himself and dedicates everything he possessed to her, and Kaṇṇaki, Kōvalan's devoted wife whose love and sacrifice for her husband finally raises her to the level of *Paṭṭini Daivam*—the Goddess among wives in whose honour temples were built in many parts of South India and Ceylon.

The author and commentators

The immortal epic was written by Iḷangō Aḍigal, the royal ascetic in the princely line of Cēra Kings. Some scholars consider him as a Śaivite while others, as a Jaina Saint. It is believed that the author was inspired to write the poem by one Sāttanār[1] who narrated to him the story of the merchant and his wife, like Sage Nārada who narrated the tale of Rāma to Sage Vālmīki.

Though the poem belongs to the early Sangam epoch, commentators seem to have appeared centuries after only. Of

1. Sāttanār is considered to be a great poet and saint who wrote *Maṇimēkhalai* another epic, which is placed next to *Cilappatikaram* from the story point of view. It is said that Sātanār was an eye-witness to the later phase of the tragic tale of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki which saw the execution of the former by the King of Madurai on the suspicion of theft of his queen's anklet and Kaṇṇaki's vengeance against the injustice shown towards her husband which ended in the burning of the whole of Madurai Kingdom and her reunion with her husband in Heaven.

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them Arumpatavurai Āciriyār and Aḍiyārkku nallār were the foremost. Date and other details of these scholars are not exactly known. Basing on the nature of the commentaries, it is believed that Arumpatavurai Āciriyār lived earlier than Aḍiyārkku nallār—earlier enough that his *Urai* (commentary) became well-known and recognised when Aḍiyārkku nallār appeared in the field to write his commentary, quoting freely from the former.

The treatment of the epic by Arumpatam is exhaustive and illuminative. Every term and word, especially those connected with dance and music are well-defined and explained with sufficient proofs and illustrations. Unfortunately the 'Urai' of Aḍiyār is not completely available. A few portions seem to have been lost.[2] Aḍiyār, while dealing with literature, grammar, poetics etc. shows great and mature scholarship which perhaps excels that of Arumpatam. But in the treatment of dance, music and allied arts, he seems to have nothing more or better to contribute than what Arumpatam has done. In some passages where he deviates from the earlier commentator, he seems to have got lost. One has therefore to depend mainly on the *Urai* of Arumpatam for the study of the chapters and references to Fine Arts.

Date of composition

The controversy on the date of composition of the epic has not yet subsided. Most of the Tamil Scholars are eager to fix it at an early date while the scholars of Malayalam prefer a later date. The period of writing ranges between 5th century B.C. and 7th century A.D. Considering certain historical evidences like the installation of Pattinikkaḍavuḷ in South India and in Ceylon and a careful study of the astronomical data given by Aḍiyār regarding the Indra Festival, one may conclude that the epic could only have been written sometime in the second century A.D.

It is interesting to note that *Cilappatikāram*, in its treatment of Nāṭya and its music, bears striking similarities with that of *Nāṭya Śāstra* which also is believed to have been composed in its present form, around the same period. A closer study of these two

2. This is evident from the occasional comments in his *Urai* which direct the reader to certain passages, that are not traceable.

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texts may perhaps help one in arriving at an appropriate date for the Kāvya.

The epic is an excellent example of *Ilakkiyam* (Poetry) where we find a blissful blending of the three-fold forms of Tamil language viz. *Iyal*,[3] *Iśai*,[4] and *Nāṭakam*.[5] The work consists of 30 chapters distributed among three sections called *Pukārkāṇḍom* (part of the story which happened in Cōḷa Dēśa) *Maduraikāṇḍom* (story took place in Pāṇḍya Dēśa) and Vañci-kāṇḍom (portions connected with Cēra Dēśa). In the beginning as well as in between these three sections there are collective verses called *Patikoms* which form the connecting link of the main story spread over the three sections.

Importance of the poem from the artists' point of view

Though *Cilappatikāram* is an epic dealing with the destiny of a young merchant and his devoted wife, it commands a leading place among the works which deal with the arts and culture of Tamil Nadu during the Sangam period. Books like *Perumpāṇāṭṭru paḍai, Tolkāppiyam, Puranānūru, Paṭiṟṟuppāttu* etc. also contain interesting references to these arts. But the references in them are not exhaustive enough to get a complete picture of these arts and their technique. Only it is in *Cilappatikāram* that we find materials for an elaborate study of the arts and culture.

The poem refers to the geographical divisions of the ancient Tamil Nāḍ into five regions viz. Mullai-Nilam (Pastoral regions) Maruta Nilam (Arable lands) Palai Nilam (Deserts) Kuriñci Nilam (Hilly region) and Naital Nilam (coastal areas). All these regions had their own typical *viḻas* (festivals) *Kūttus* (Dances) *Pālais* (Basic modes), *Paṇs* (Rāgās), *Varis* (Songs) *Yāḻs* (Stringed instruments) which were tuned to their typical modes, and *Parais* (drums). Iḷango Aḍikal was so well versed in the arts

3. *Iyal* is Tamil verses like *Vempa, Akavarpa* etc. Of the metres used in the book, the author seems to have had a special liking for *Akavarpa*—a type of blank verse which is frequently used.

4. *Iśai* denotes songs like *Vari, Kātai, Pāni*—etc. in their variety and diversity.

5. Nāṭakam means dramatic dialogues based on some story on incident like *Uraippāṭṭu* etc. which may be in the form of poetry or prose.

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and sciences of every region, that in his poem he deals with all of them in detail and with mastery.

The chapter called "Indiraviḻa vūreḍutta kātai" deals with the festivals, music, dance etc. of the Maruta Nilam. "Kānalvari" another chapter deals with those of the Naital Nilam. The chapter known as Veṭṭuva Vari contains details about the arts of Pālai Nilam. Arts and festivals of Mullai Nilam and Kuriñci Nilam are described in Āyciyār Kuravai and Kunrakkuravai—respectively.

Not only regional dances and music, but also classical dance and accompanying songs and instrumental music are described in their traditional character and technical details. The chapters, Arangēṭṭrukkātai, Ūrkāṇ-katai, Āyciyār-kuravai, Kaḍa lāḍu-kātai etc. treat dance exhaustively while the above chapters as well as other chapters like Kānalvari, Puramcēriyirutta kātai, Nāḍukāṇ-kātai etc. deal with the various techniques of Pālai music.[6] Not only the arts, but the artists and instruments are also described in detail.

Here an attempt has been made to study the arts—mainly dance and its music on the basis of the references given in the epic and on the basis of the famous commentaries.

Status and popularity of the arts

(a) *Arts in the village*: The epic tells us that Fine-arts were very popular throughout Tamil Nad and their technique,[7] very much advanced. As already said every region had developed its own typical festivals, dances, musical instruments and instrumental playing (XXV—24 to 32). The rural festivals and ceremonies were all connected with music and dance (XXIV; XII etc.). The amusements included *Tōrppāvaikkūttu*[8] (puppet shows), *Kaḻinaṭam*[9] etc.,

6. Pālai is a common term used to denote different technical aspects of music like Grāma, Jāti, Mēḷa and a particular type of yāl (stringed instrument). It stands for desert region as well.

7. Refer the 3rd article in this series for details.

8. We get casual references to the puppet-shows, an amusement which was very popular even during Rig Vedic times. But the epic does not supply details to any actual play being staged.

9. *Kalinaṭam* is a game with sticks which is elaborated in the third article.

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regional singing (XXIV; XII), group dances like) *Tuṇangai*[10] and *Kuravai* (X. 70) religious solo dances (XXIV—prose) and dances performed by male and female priests (XXI—6). There were local dancing halls called *Kāḷams* and public art theatres called *Kalai Manrams* (XII–11). Men and women, youths and maidens freely took part in the communal and religious singing, instrumental playing and dancing (XXIV).

Arts in the cities and in the Royal house-hold: Every lane and bylane of the vast cities was enlivened with the sound of vocal and instrumental music and dance (1.45; V. 169–189). There were a number of festivals like *Indra vila*[11] (C.V.) *Kaḍalāḍu-Vaipavām*[12] (C. VI) etc. which were all connected with music and dance. All distinguished statesmen including the King participated in them.

Not only courtesans and professional artists, but also lords, leading merchants and citizens and the King himself were all experts in music, and allied arts like painting.[13] Members of the aristocratic families, both ladies and lords were roused by artists, singing songs called *Nōttiram* (IV–72 to 80). Comparing the sweet tones of the *yāḷ* (stringed instrument) and *paṇs* (*rāgās*) with the sweet voice of the lady love by the lover was a common trait (V. 218 to 222; II–73 to 83) Roaming about the city by young men seeking sport in the pleasure gardens accompanied by ministrels singing to the *Kural* tune was a common sight (V–203). Lovers used to go to the beach and river beds to spend their evenings

10. All these dances are treated elaborately in the 2nd article of this series.

11. *Indra Vila* was a festival held in honour of Indra and is similar to the *Indradhvajōtsavom* mentioned in the *Viramitrodaya-rājanītiprakāsa*. The festival commenced on Saturday on the *Citra paurnami* and continued for a month. The important feature of the festival was the removal of the sacred drum from the Vajra kōṭam temple to the Airāvata temple, where it was placed on the neck of the elephant idol called Airāvata, favourite of Indra. (2) Bathing of the idol Indra in holi waters amidst music and dance. (3) A variety programme of dance and music by leading courtesans and other artists before the King and the public.

12. *Kaḍalāḍu Vaipavom* had much in common with the *Jalōtsava* described in Mahābhārata and Harivamśa.

13. Kōvalan, an young merchant was well versed in music (C. VII) *Yal* playing (C. VII) in painting (II. 79) and in the dance technique (C. VIII). The king used to select the royal courtesan after judging the performances by young courtesans (C. III).

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singing and playing the most cherished instrument called *yāḻ* (CK VII).

The Royal amusements and festivities included dance, singing instrumental playing, *Nāṭaka*, *Hāsya* and allied arts. The state recognised a number of distinguished artists and patronised them accordingly.[14] A number of artists were employed in the royal household on various duties connected with their own profession. After a day's heavy work, the king used to go to his pleasure resort called *Iḷavaṇḍikaipaḷḷi*[15] to witness dance and music, along with his queen (X–1, 31; XXV–1–4).

The royal processions, both ceremonial and military, included artists proficient in various branches of art. They had significant roles to play on all such occasions. A King's commissariat during a war expedition consisted of the following under the leadership of *Sanjayan* (Ambassador) (XXVI. 128–40).

Chariots	..	100
Elephants	..	500
Horses	..	10,000
Carts	..	20,000
Kanjukār (distinguished messengers)	..	1,000
Nāṭaka Makalir (Dancing girls)	..	102
Kūdiśai Kkuyiluvar (accompanists)	..	208
Nakai Vēḷampar (Jesters)	..	100

Status and privileges of the Artists

Arts were practised and safeguarded as a family tradition. Different families practising different arts for generations became professionals and custodians of art in their respective fields. Thus there arose families of Perum Pāṇars[16] (V. 37) families of Nakai

14. Mādhavi the courtesan and Cakkiyār, the religious dancer from Paraiyoor were all state artists.

15. *Iḷavaṇḍikaipaḷḷi* was the King's park in which there was a lake.

16. The term refers to a group of major traditional artists who were experts in singing major *Pālais* (Modes), *Paṇs* (Ragas) etc. and in playing superior *yāḻs* (stringed instruments). They were great masters who knew

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Veḷampars (XXVI–140) and Nāṭaka Maṭāntaiyar (XXVI–146) and a lot of other professionals (XXII–138) who lived on minor arts.

Most of the artists had a luxurious living. It is said that the distribution of the captured property was made among black-smiths, spies, sooth-sayers, toddy-sellers, drummers; and celebrated bards who played on the *yāḻs* (XII–prose). There were separate streets both in Maruvūrpākom (a part of the city, V. 39) and in Kōviyan Vīti (Rājā mārga, V. 40) for Āḍarkkūttiyar—(courtesans, V. 50) perumpānar (V. 37) and for minor artists (V. 38) skilled in handling minor arts. Leading artists lived in palatial mansions which were often visited by princes, nobles and other dignitaries (XIV–146).

Promising artists often had the opportunity of presenting their art before the king (C. III. 121 to 154; XIII–38) who gave them gold and valuable gifts (III–154–164). They were introduced by the ambassador to visiting monarchs (XXVI–141 to 145) before whom also they exhibited their skill and got in return valuable presents.

The artists were exempted from harsh punishments (XIV–146 to 167). Killing or attacking the artists even if they belonged to the enemy's camp, was considered a hideous act. This privilege protected not only the artists but quite often warriors as well, by enabling them to escape the enemies' eyes in the guise of dancer or musician (XXVI–179).

The practitioners of various arts

The arts and crafts grouped under the title *Catusaṣṭi Kalās* by the Sanskrit texts were all prevalent in Tamil Nad and this is evident from the references found scattered in the poem.

There were the dealers of Vannam, cuṇṇam and cāntam (scents and cool sandal paste V. 13); Pūvu, Pukai and Virai

the whole technique of musical science and who could exhibit their faultless skill on the lute or flute tuned to 7 notes. They enjoyed high status as against the ciru Pānars (minor artists) who have skilled in presenting minor melodies and in playing minor instruments from among yāḻs and drums. Based on the above two groups, two exquisite poems have been written by ancient Tamil poets under the title *Perumpāṇāṭṭrupaḍai* and *Ciru pāṇāṭṭru paḍai*.

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(various kinds of flower garlands, incense, and fragrant powdered seeds V. 14); Paṭṭu, Mayir and Paruthinūl (Silks, fur and cotton. V. 16); and dealers in Muttu, Maṇi and Ponnu (rare pearls, gems and gold V. 19). There were Pāśavar (sellers of betel leaves V. 26), Kañcakkār and Compukkār (makers of bronze and copper vessels and statues V. 28), Marankōl-Taccar (makers of wooden curios V. 29), Kollar (black-smith V. 29), Kannūl vinajnar (male and female painters V. 30) Mannīṭṭār (sculptors V. 31), Tunnakkārar and Tōlin-Tunnar (Experts in Tailoring and in making animal skin products V. 32), Paḷutil Ceyvinai pālkeḷu-makkal (skilled workers of fancy trinkets of silk etc. V. 34) Kāla-ganitar and Āyulvētar (astrologers and physicians V. 44), Tirumaṇi kuyiṭṭunar (those who dexterously bored holes in gems and pearls V. 46), Aṇivinai poḷunar (Those who polished shells and conches which were borne as ornaments V. 47), Pū-vilai-maṭantaiyar (maidens bearing flowers and garlands V. 51), and Cirappin-nūlōn (architect XIV-98).

Then there were the Cūtar,[17] Mākatar and vētāḷikar (V. 48), Nāḷikai Kaṇakkar[18] (V. 49), Nalam perum kaṇṇuḷār[19] (V. 49), Kāvar-kani kaiyar[20] (V. 50), Āḍarkkūttiyar[21] courtesans (V. 50), Payil-toḻirkkuyiluvar[22] (V. 52), Panmuraikkaruviyar (V. 52).

17. Cūtar, Mākatar, and vētāḷikar are identical with the Sūtas Māgadha-s and Vaitāḷika-s of the sanskrit texts. They were the court ministrels whose function was to wake up the King through songs of praise and to entertain him with music when the King retires for rest. Some times Vaitāḷikas had the special duty of keeping the King aware of the different watches of the day and night.

18. A few scholars interpret it as the term standing for Tāḷajna-s while others take it for denoting astrologers. A third view is that it stands for those whose duty was to inform the King about the different watches of the day and night.

19. Shri V. R. R. Dikshitar interprets it as mock dancers while others take it for those who perform beautiful dances in attractive styles and attire.

20. The term may denote cheap courtesans or prostitutes or maid servants of leading courtesans.

21. Some scholars interpret the term as bag-pipe musicians while others as traditional instrumentalists. The word Kuyiluvakai denotes the 4 types of instruments viz., stringed, wind, metal and percussion.

22. Drummers who play on various types of drums during religious and festive occasions and during war times.

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Nakai-vēḷampar[23] (V. 53), Perum-pāṇar (Major vocalists and instrumentalists (V. 37), Iśai-yācirian (Music master III. 25), Nannūl-puravan (Poet and composer III. 44), Pādar-pāṇar (male vocalists of classical music V. 185). Paḍukala-makaḷir (female musicians VI. 157), Tōriya maṭantaiyar (female singers of a dance party XIV. 133), Panniyal maṭantaiyar (female singers of classical music XXVII. 139), Yāḷāciriyan (Master of harps and lutes III. 70-95), Koruvi-kkuyiluvar (instrumentalists V. 184), Panniyal pulavon[24] (V. 105), Taṇṇumai Mutalvan (Expert drummer III. 55), Kuḻalōn (Flutist III. 69). Ōviyar (Painters VI. 169), Āḍalāśan (Dance master XXVI-124; III. 25), Nāṭaka Makalir (Actresses well-versed in 64 arts (XIV. 167), Tuṇangai and Kuravai-kkūttar[25] (group dancers of different regions V. 70), Veriyāḍalar (rustic dancers of religious rites including males and females (XXIV. Prose; XIII. 1-14).

Among the state-patronised artists two group of dancers were of great importance, viz. Cākkiyār (the religious dancer) and Nāṭaka-matantaiyar or the Kaṇikaiyar, the courtesan.

Cākkiyārs

They belonged to a community of Brāhmins (XXII. 38) from Paraiyūr and other villages, which were once known for Brāhmins well-versed in vedas and vedic rites. Later on they, having fallen from vedic life, took to dancing and singing (XII. 38). Due to the change of habits and profession these Brāhmins, who, though wore sacred thread, were considered inferior by other orthodox vedic Brahmins because, instead of pursuing *Kuladharma* which was vedic recitation and vedic observances, they took to dancing and singing and other professions like making bangles, farming etc. They were grouped as *Laukīka* Brāhmins as against *Vaidīka* Brāhmins. Among the laukīka-Brāhmins, those who practised

23. Vidūṣakar or jesters who developed their art and humour on the basis of the 96 types of Pāṣāṇḍom (Samaya śāstra) in which they were well-versed.

24. The term is used to denote classical artists who played Pans (ragas) on the *yāḻ* and to denote poets who composed songs according to the principle of classical music.

25. These terms are elaborately treated in the 2nd article in this series.

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dancing and singing came to be called as *Ambaṇavar*.[26] The Cākkiyār[27] belonged to this community. Their main duty was to present before the King or before the devotees in a temple, puranic episodes exquisitely interwoven with current affairs through music, dance, acting and artistic humour.

The Courtesan

They are referred to as Kaṇikaiyar (V. 50), Nāṭaka maṭantai-yar (XVII. 142), Ādarkkūttíyar (V. 50), Kaḍaikaḷir–Makaḷir (XIV. 71) etc. They "whose dark curly hair was loosely woven with shining garlands, whose incipient breasts were adorned with chains and whose long eyes resembled dark carps (XXVI. 105-115), were all goddess–like damsels who could tempt besides Kings and nobles, even ascetics (XIV, 63) and devas (VI. 72) through their physical charm and skill in dancing, singing and instrumental playing (XIV. 131). For generations they remained as the custodians of the 'Yeṇṇen–kalai' (64 arts XXIII. 138) and knew the "technique of the two musical conventions, 'vettiyal and Poduviyal[28]' and had perfect knowledge of the four characteristics of dancing, songs, time beats, the music of bag pipes accompanied by musical instruments of leather used in the dancing theatre. They also knew of the much renowned 'talaikkōl[29] (111. 161) and of the sweet and seven fold strains and were accompanied by the Tōriya–matantaiyar[30] (XIV. 146–160)". They had such a mastery over dance, songs and instrumental playing (XIV. 146–167) that when they played, even goddess Earth wondered at their skill. (VII. 22). People forgot themselves in ecstasy when they heard their sweet voices blissfully and accurately blended with the notes of the lutes they were playing (VII. 24).

26. The leader among them was called Kūttul paḍuvōn (XXVI. 125).

27. The family of Cakkiyār with the same duty and career are still found in Kerala. Shri Māṇi Mādhava Cākkiyār, an outstanding artist from among them received state award just a few years ago.

28. Refer to the second article in this series for explanations.

29. The term here refers to a staff awarded by the King to the leading courtesan while recognising her as the "State dancer" in view of her inimitable skill in the field of dance and music.

30. Accompanying lady musicians.

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Their status and way of life

The courtesans lived in a far famed street and led a very costly and self-indulgent life (XXII. 139). Not only nobles, rich merchants but even crown-princes visited them frequently though secretly (XIV. 146). Their beautiful mansions always resounded with the sweet sound of *Mṛdaṅga* (drum), music from the *kuḻal* (flute) and *yāḻ* (harp or lute, XXII. 135–138). The leading courtesans were recognised as state artists and were patronised accordingly (III. 154–164). They were all loyal to the King and nobles and delighted them through their art and physical charms and the paramours in turn gave them valuable presents like covered carts, palanquins, sleeping couches with jewelled golden legs, etc. (XIV. 120–145). The costliest dress, ornaments, scents, flowers and all those rare toilet belonging to various parts of the country and abroad were easily available to them (XIV. 76–86). The gifted courtesans were always in great demand and the remuneration for a dance performance generally consisted of 1005 *kaḻanjus* (a weight) of gold, a *navaretnamāla* (jewelled chain or necklace) costing about the same amount (C. III). The leading musicians also earned about 1005 *kaḻanjus* per day, besides valuable gifts (XIV. 160–167).

Prostitution by courtesan was not considered a crime (V. 128–134) though practice of vices by cunning wives was treated as a serious crime. Also they were exempted from punishments like walking around the city, bearing seven burnt tiles on their head (XIV. 148) followed by hooting crowd, a punishment meant for inflicting disgrace on a person who was at fault.

They drank sweet wine from golden goblets kept ready for use by their female attendants (XIV. 134) and led a carefree life. In the festivals, the courtesans had prominence both as leading performing artists as well as distinguished visitors to amusements and activities other than music and dance (VI. 155–156). In the scenes of festivals, there were decorated enclosures reserved for leading dancers from where they could see and enjoy various shows (VI. 158). There were white-legged canopies with beautiful paintings surrounded by screens, under the tree shades, where these courtesans sat and enjoyed themselves

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in the company of their paramours[31] (VI. 166–170). They quite often lost all shame and chastity, accompanied their rich lovers to the pleasure gardens (XIV. 70) and engaged themselves in water-sports and rowed in beautiful boats with high cabins (XIV. 75). Because of their wreckless life and their nature of wrecking the citizens physically and financially, men of decency sometimes treated them as social disease (XI. 90) and considered their way of life, to be the worst of all careers (XI. 90).

Their duty towards the state:

The main duty of the courtesan was to entertain the King and the citizens with dance and music in different kinds of costume and make-up at the end of the state festivals (VI. 72–75). She was also expected to entertain the King and Queen with dance and music during their leisure time when they would retire to the *Iḷavaṇḍikai-ppaḷḷi* (X. 1.31) after a day's hard work. During the visits of guest monarchs it was customary that like other leading citizens of the state, the recognized state dancers and other artists from different parts of the country also visited them and paid their respects (XXVI. 105–124). *Sanjaiyan*—the chief ambassador introduced them to the visiting King (XXVI. 141). It was the duty of the courtesans to entertain these monarchs with pleasing songs of praises like *Kārkkuravai*[32] (XXVI. 162–21), *pāṇivari* (XXVI. 105–115) set to appropriate ragas and seasons. Not only during festive occasions and peaceful times but also during military expeditions the courtesans were expected to accompany the army perhaps for entertaining the king and the military men. About 102 courtesans were on duty in such military expeditions (XXVI. 128–40).

The courtesan's toilet, ornaments and dress:

Besides the casual references, an exhaustive description on the above is available in the chapter called Kaḍalāḍukātai in ver-

31. One of the ways of selecting the paramour was to ask maid servant to stand in the main road, with the mavaretnamala-a costly neckalace received from the King as a gift, and to announce that he who would buy the necklace for 1008 *kalanjus* of gold would become the temporary husband of the courtesan to whom the necklace belonged (C. III 164-75).

32. Pāṇivari and karkkuravai are treated elaborately in Nāṭya Music, the 3rd part in this series.

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ses between 75 to 105, where Mādhavi, the leading courtesan is described as preparing herself to meet her lover.

The courtesan massaged her hair with fragrant oils and then washed it with warm water boiled in *pattu –ttuvarai*,[33] *Aintuvirai*[34] and *Muppattiruvakai–Ōmālikai*.[35] Then the whole hair was dried up in fuming incense[36] and *Kasturi* oil was applied over it. After proper combing the hair was splitted into five plaits each of which was decorated with flowers[37] like *Mullai* (Jasmine), *Āmbal* (water lily), *Neydal* (red lily) etc. and were woven loosely with garlands fastened with pearls secured from great harbours (XXVI. 74–78). Over her forehead, she applied *Tilaka* (XXV. 146) and over the head, she wore stone–studded head ornaments of gold like *Dāiva–muṭṭi, Vaḷampuri Toyyakom, Pullakom*[38] etc.

She painted her bosom with red sandal paste and further beautified it with garlands of *senguḍu* flowers (XIV. 97) and *Pāṭalai* (leaves) interspersed with segments of tender lotus stalk, lotus flower, blue flowers etc. (IV. 45–50).

On her feet she applied red dye and on her toes, she wore *Aṇis* (ornaments) like *Makaravāi–mōtiram, Pīli, Kalāḷi* etc. She wore on her ankles *Pariyakom, Nūpuram, Pāḍakom, Catankai* etc. Her beautiful and well shaped thighs were decorated with a pair of gold ornaments called *Kurangu–ceri*. Over her waist she had a girdle made of 32 strands of *Paru–muttu* (large pearls) stitched over a blue silk embroidered with golden figures and flowers.

She had on her tender fingers different kinds of *Mōtiram* (rings) made of gold, rubies, diamonds, and emerald. Around her

33. *Pattu-ttuvarai*—It is called as *deśarektakam* in sanskrit literature. It is compound of 10 kinds of astringents.

34. *Aintu-virai*—It is called as *Pañca surabhi* in Sanskrit and is a mixture of fragrant substances including camphor.

35. *Muppattiru-vakai—Omālikai—Dvātridaśat dhūpakom* in sanskrit consists of 32 kinds of ingredients including musk, butter etc.

36. The incense was made by mixing the ayir (a fragrant substance, white in colour) from Western hill and agar (a black substance) from the Eastern hill (IV. 36-40).

37. There were separate streets in the city where paints. cool pastes, incense, fragrance, flowers, scents, etc., were available (V. 10-23).

38. For an elaborate description of the ornaments of the courtesan regarding their shapes, and makes, please refer to the Tamil article by Shri Somasundara Desikar appeared on the *Kalai-makal* Vol. I. pp. 284-288.

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waist, she wore a *sūḍakam* (bracelet) studded with costly gems, *kai-vaḷai* (gold bangles), *vāl-vaḷai* (bangles made of silver or conchs), *Paviḻa-vaḷai* (bangles of pearls) and *Muttu-vaḷai* (bangles of beads). Her upper arms were ornamented with *Tōḷ-vaḷai* (gold armlets) studded with pearls. Along with the armlet, she wore *kāmar-kaṇḍilkai*—a bangle type of gold ornament.

The beauty of her delicate and handsome neck was magnified by wearing *cankili-s* (chains) of gold like *Nūn-toḍar*, *Punai-vinai*, *Muttāram* etc. Her ears glittered with *Kutampai*, i.e. studs of gold, *Indranīla* and *Cakrapāṇi* diamonds.

Costumes:

The dancing girls belonged to different regions and theatres (XXVI. 68–73) and as such they appeared in their respective dress and ornaments (XXVI. 105–115). The costume of the courtesan included a rich variety of silks like *Arattappūmpaṭṭu* (XIV. 86), with golden embroidery and various types of fur, woollen, and cotton attires stitched by expert tailors (V. 20–23). They sometimes wore very fascinating costumes also (V. 64–75). During their performances, the dancers used to have costume and make-up typical to the character they portrayed (VI. 64–67; VI. 72–75).

Training of a courtesan

The courtesans who sang and danced before the Kings and the learned public, were all state artists. The recognition of a dancer as the state artist, known as *Talaikkōl-paṭṭom* (III. 3) was a coveted honour in those days. It was awarded only to those who were enchantingly beautiful and outstandingly well-versed in dance, vocal and instrumental music (III. 8). Only those courtesans who were initiated into the art by traditional master (XXV. 20) and who underwent vigorous training in the same could aim for such a status. The initiation into the dance was called *Taṇḍiyam-piḍittal* and was considered as a sacred ceremony.

Tāṇḍiyam-piḍittal[39] *(initiation)*

This marked the beginning of a vigorous training in the triad forms of art lasting over a period of seven years, starting at the

39. Refer III 10-12 and also Bharata sēnāpatīyam.

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age of five (III. 10–12). The ceremony took place in the central hall of the mansion of the courtesan. An auspicious day and time were fixed for the initiation. On the scheduled day a large square of rice was made on the floor of the central hall. Two senior lady dancers—retired courtesans probably—stood at the two sides of the square, holding a stick at its both ends. The girl who was to be initiated was asked to stand in the square of the rice and was made to clutch the stick at its centre with both the hands. Then she was asked to take steps according to the beat given by the dance master, with a stick on a hollow wooden block.

Thus the courtesan started her leasons in dance. She was given training in singing and instrumental playing simultaneously, lasting for a period of 7 years. After the successful completion of her training she was allowed to perform the *Arangēttram* (maiden dance performance) before the King and selected citizens in order to win the state's recognition and royal patronage. This was at the age of 12 (5 + 7) and it was only after the *Arangēttram* she could start her career as a courtesan.

Arangettram (*Maiden performance III.* 115–160).

It took place in the *Aranku* (Stage) of a *vidyā maṇḍapam* (theatre) built according to the rules laid down in the *Tūl* (*Vāstu śilpa śāstra*). An auspicious day was fixed for the performance. The stage, the theatre hall, its surroundings etc. were illuminated with innumerable lights and were all decorated with the various types of silks, flowers, garlands etc. in view of the ceremony.

On the day fixed for *Arangēttram* the dancer bathed in holy waters and dressed and decorated herself in her best. Her *talai-kkōl*—the staff used by the dancer as an equipoise too was bathed in sacred waters and was decorated. Afterwards she and her group of relatives, friends and accompanists proceeded to the temple carrying the *talaikkōl* in a golden pitcher to meet the ruling monarch, his retinue and the royal elephant. In the presence of the King, the *talai-kkol* was given to the elephant. After this, the King and his *Aimperumkuḷu* circumambulated the chariot and the elephant and gave the *talai-kkōl* to the musician-composer on the top of the chariot amidst instrumental music. Thereafter the whole party went in procession around the city and finally reached

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the *kalai-manṛam* (theatre). The *talai-kkōl* was placed in its appointed place over the stage with all adoration and sacredness. The instrumentalists occupied their allotted seats and the lady musicians gathered themselves by the side of the pillar on the left side of the stage. The King and his party sat themselves in front of the stage.[40]

After all these arrangements, the dancing girl entered the stage placing her right foot on it first and stood on the right side of the stage and pillar. Songs, called *Varam* for warding off the evil and for showering peace and prosperity to the artists and audience, were sung consequently by the dancer and her *tōriya-maṭantaiyar* (lady singers). At the end of the prayer, the orchestral music commenced. The *Yāḻ* (*viṇa*) was in tune with the *kuḻal* (flute) and *Tannumai* (*Mṛdanga* or *Maddaḷa*) was in tune with the *yāḻ*. The *Muḻavu* (another drum called Kudamuḻa) was in harmony with *Tannumai* and *Āmantrikai* (yet another drum called *Iḍaikka*), followed *Muḻavu*. In short every instrument was in perfect unison with the other. Soon after the orchestral music, the courtesan started her dance which continued for hours. Ably assisted by her orchestra consisting of *Āḍalācān* (dance master). *Iśai-yāciriyan* (musician), *Pulavan* (composer and poet), *Kuḻalōn* (flutist), *Yāḻāciriyan* (Harpist) *Tannumai mutalvan* (Mridangist), *Tōriyamanṭaiyar* (female singers), the young courtesan, like a beautiful flower made of gold, presented various kinds of dances belonging to the Mārga and Dēśi styles, and also classical and regional varieties.

40. An assembly of five distinguished persons consisting of the minister, the Purōhita or the priest, the commander-in-chief, ambassador, and the spy.

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The Battle of Venbai: A Reassessment

BY

H. SARKAR

In the Vēḷvikuḍi grant[1] of the third year of Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c. A.D. 765–815), there is a reference to a battle at Veṇbai, which has been hailed by Nilakanta Sastri as "a landmark in the history of inter-state relations in South India."[2] The battle was fought around A.D. 750 during the reign of Māravarman Rājasiṁha I (c. A.D. 730–765) between the Vallabhas or the Cālukyas on the one side and the Pūrvarājar aided by Māraṅgāri's army on the other. It was Māraṅgāri who was the executor of the grant; further, this important episode has been mentioned only in connexion with his achievement—and not in the exploits of any of the Pāṇḍya monarchs.

The Vallabha has been identified with the Cālukyan king Kīrtivarman II,[3] while there is hardly any unanimity regarding the identification of the Pūrvarājar. H. Krishna Sastri, the editor of the inscription, takes the Pūrvarājar, as the chiefs of Gaṅgavāḍi, subordinate to the Western Gaṅga kings.[4] On the other hand, S. Krishnaswami Iyengar is inclined to connect them with the Pallavas of Kanci.[5] Again, H. C. Raychaudhuri attempts to identify the Pūrvarāja with the Pāla rulers of eastern India, for the Bādāl pillar inscription, he argues, makes specific mention of

1. H. Krishna Sastri, "Velvikudi grant of Nedunjadaiyan: the third year of reign, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII (1924), pp. 291-309.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Battle of Veṇbai," in *India Antiqua* (Leyden, 1947), pp. 254-56.

3. According to K. G. Sankara, "this battle was fought about the time of Vikramaditya II's invasion in c. A.D. 740." See his "The Velvi-kudi plates and the Sangam Age," in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LI (1922), pp. 211-217.

4. H. Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

5. In his introduction to *The Pallavas of Kanchi*, by R. Gopalan, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.

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the facts that Devapāla defeated the Utkalas, Huns and Gurjaras besides humbling the pride and conceit of the lords of the Draviḍas.[6] All these scholars take the word in the sense of the king or kings of the east but K. G. Sankara,[7] and subsequently Nilakanta Sastri, translate it as the previous king or kings. According to Nilakanta Sastri," 'Pūrvarājar' has also the meaning 'ancient kings' and may be taken to refer collectively to the three ancient monarchs of the Tamil land, Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Cōḷa of whom the Pāṇḍya enjoyed hegemony in this period."[8]

It may be pointed out here that a proper identification of the Pūrvarājar is dependent largely on the location of Veṇbai where the battle took place. So far, however, no attempt has been made by these scholars to identify the place. Nilakanta Sastri is inclined to place it somewhere in or near the Ganga territory; at least the order of sequence in which the events during the rule of Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha I has been arranged by him points to this conclusion. He reconstructs the events as follows "The Vēlvikuḍi grant itself describes in glowing terms the expansionist policy followed by Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha who crossed the Cauvery, subjugated Maḷakoṅgam, reached Pāṇḍikkoḍumuḍi and directly threatened the Gaṅga kingdom. At this juncture unable to meet single-handed the onslaught of the powerful invader from the south, Śrīpuruṣa must have sought the assistance of his suzerain Kīrtivarman II. The result was a defeat in the battle of Veṇbai .... "[9]

Instead of going into the merits and demerits of various theories it would be better first to make an attempt to identify

6. H. C. Raychaudhuri, "The Pūrvarāja of the Velvikkudi Grant," *Krishnaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume* (Madras, 1936), pp. 197-200.

7. K. G. Sankara, *op. cit.*, translates the passage quite differently. For him *pūrva-rāja* is just "the previous king."

8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 256. He has shown the defects of the previous theories propounded by Raychaudhuri and Krishnaswami Iyengar. But there is no comment at all on Krishna Sastri's theory which appears to be more reasonable than that of the others. By implication, Krishna Sastri also locates the battle-field somewhere near the Gaṅga country.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 256. In his *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (London, 1929) he took *pūrvarājar* in the sense of "eastern kings."

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Veṇbai. Several Pāṇḍya records refer to a place called Veṇbai-kuḍi[10] which has been identified by some scholars with Vembankudi, either of the Sivaganga or Aruppukkottai Taluks of the Ramanathapuram District.[11] It is not unlikely that Veṇbai-kuḍi was located in the division of Veṇbaikkuḍi-nāḍu mentioned in several Pāṇḍya records. Perhaps the battle of Veṇbai has been referred to as the battle of Veṇbaikkuḍi in the Daḷavāypuram copper-plate grant of Parāntaka Vīra Nārāyaṇan Pāṇḍya.[12] If Veṇbai of the Vēlvikuḍi grant can be equated with Veṇbaikkuḍi of other Pandyan records, one cannot but locate it in the Paṇḍya territory. In that case the Pūrvarājar cannot be outsiders chasing the Cālukyas deep into the Pāṇḍya country. Probably, they represented the feudatory chiefs occupying the eastern region of the kingdom; and they must have accepted the Pāṇḍya overlordship in the wake of the revival of the Pāṇḍya power.

The testimony of the Vēlvikuḍi grant itself may show that several battles were fought within the Pāṇḍya territory, evidently to bring the feudatory chiefs under control. In the military exploits of Arikēsari Māravarman (A.D. 670–700) one comes across several references to battles like the ones fought at Pāḷi and Nelvēli between the Pāṇḍya army and certain local chiefs, because in the same context, mention is made about the destruction of the Paravas, who certainly occupied the south-east coast of the Pāṇḍya country. Even Śaḍaiyan's (also called Raṇadhīra) conflict with the Mahārathas at Maṅgalapura took place near about the Pāṇḍya country, as recently K. G. Krishnan, on the basis of the Madurai inscription of Pāṇḍya Cēndan has located the city founded by Cēndaṉ himself, somewhere close o tthe Pāṇḍya country.[13]

10. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar (ed.) *South Indian Inscriptions,* Volume XIV (The Pāṇḍyas), No. 106. For Veṇbaikkuḍi-nāḍu, see nos. 16, 27, 65 etc.

11. *Travancore Archaeological Series,* II, pp. 15-21.

12. T. N. Subramaniam, "The Dalavaypuram Copper Plate Grant of Parantaka Vira Narayana Pandya," *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India,* (Madras, 1969), pp. 1-31. Also *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy,* for 1958-59, pp. 4-5.

13. K. G. Krishnan, "Madurai Inscription of Pandya Chendan, year 50, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 27-32 (in the press). Evidently, it is futile to identify this Mangalapura with Mangalore on the west coast.

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Now, a question may be raised whether the feudatory chiefs could be addressed as *rāja*. Without any doubt, the answer is in the affirmative. The executor of the grant calls himself a prince of the Vaidya family of Karavandapuram, identified generally with Ukkirankottai in Tirunelveli Taluk. Furthermore, several of the prominent generals and ministers of the early Pāṇḍya rulers came from this family. For instance, the *vaidya-śikhāmaṇi* Māṟaṉkāri of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant was succeeded, as it is known from Anaimalai inscription, by his younger brother, Māṟaṉ Eyiṉaṉ.[14] Evidently, the office of the ministership under the Pāṇḍya rulers was a hereditary one. Moreover, the Maḷava king, who has been mentioned in this record as *mahā-kulīnām Maḷavendra*, also appears to be a feudatory chief: Maḷava is taken to be identical with Maḷa-nāḍu. It thus appears that the feudatory chiefs were also known as *rājas*, and they ruled over their respective regions under the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas.

It seems, therefore, that the battle of Veṇbai was fought within the Pāṇḍya territory evidently as a sequel to a Cālukyan attack, probably under Kīrtivarman II, when he was a *yuvarāja*. Significantly, the records of the Cālukyas as well as the Samangod plates of Dantidurga allude to the victory over the Keralas, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas,[15] but it is doubtful, in the face of evidence, supplied by the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, if the claims so far as the Pāṇḍya country is concerned, contain much truth. At the same time, it is inexplicable why a Pāṇḍya victory over the Cālukyas does not find any mention in the achievements of the king Maṟavarman Rājasimha, despite the fact that several other victories have been referred to in the same inscription. As stated earlier, this momentous event has been described only in the list of achievements of the Pāṇḍya minister who was also the executor of the grant. On the other hand the marriage of the Ganga princess with Koṅgarkōṉ finds mention in the exploits of both the king and his minister. Thus, in all likelihood, the Pāṇḍya king was not directly or personally involved in the battle of

14. For exploits of the other members of the same family, see *South Indian Inscriptions*, XIV, pp. (ii-iii).

15. *The Early History of the Deccan*, parts I-VI (Oxford, 1960), pp. 229-31.

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Veṇbai which was fought by his feudatories occupying the eastern parts of the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam against the advancing Cālukyan army. May be, at the beginning, Rājasiṁha failed to stem the tide of the Cālukyan attack but subsequently it was repulsed by the combined forces of the Pūrvarājar, asisted by Māṟangāri's army.

It is by no means clear from the inscription whether the Gaṅga ruler was at all involved in the battle of Veṇbai. No doubt, Rājasiṁha contracted matrimonial alliance with the Gaṅgas and this very incident is referred to also in connexion with the achievements of Maṟangari. Again, the references to the conflict at Veṇbai and the marriage of the Gaṅga princess with Koṅgar-kōṉ or Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan occur side by side and actually this has led to various speculations regarding the role of the Gaṅgas in this conflict. It is fairly clear that the battle took place only after this marriage, and the event may not have been, in any way, associated with the Calukyan invasion.

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The East India Company's Reactions to the Charter Act of 1853

BY

PRASHANTO KUMAR CHATTERJI

The year 1853 represented a significant landmark in the East India Company's history. The Company saw their Charter renewed for the last time but on terms which amounted to little less than a revolution, judging from the British tradition of slow and gradual constitutional progress. While in 1813 and 1833 the Company had lost their trading monopoly in the Indies, they now were stripped of their 'Patronage'.[1] Moreover, the Court of Directors, representing the Company's executive, were reduced to a body of eighteen members, one-third of whom would be Government nominees. The constitution of the Court of Directors, hitherto a wholly elected body,[2] thus underwent the first important modification since the days of William Pitt.[3]

It fell to the newly established Peelite-Whig Aberdeen[4] ministry to handle the issue of renewing the Company's Charter. On the pretext of delay in submitting reports by Select Parliamentary Inquiry Committees,[5] however, the Tory opposition group under Derby[6] and Disraeli[7] wanted to defer legislation;[8] while the

1. Refers to the Directors' power to nominate writers, cadets, and assistant surgeons in the Company's Indian services.
2. The Court of Proprietors used to elect 24 Directors from among holders of £ 1000 India stock.
3. Prime Minister of Britain, 1783-1801, 1804-6.
4. Led the Peelites after Peel's death; formed coalition ministry of Whigs and Peelites, 1852.
5. These were appointed to enquire into the operation of the 1833 Charter Act by the Lords and Commons Resolutions of April and May 1852.
6. Headed a Protectionist ministry, Feb. 1852; Premier of Britain, 1858-9.
7. Chancellor of Exchequer, 1852, 1858-9.
8. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 and 24 March, 8 April 1853—*Dalhousie Papers* (cited forward as *DP*) No. 66; Wood to Dalhousie 24 March 1853—*Wood Papers* (cited as WP); *Letter-Book* (cited henceforward *LB*) III. Ellenborough's motion for delay, introduced in the Lords 25 Feb. 1853, was rejected by Aberdeen. (*Hansard*, Vol. CXXIV, p. 631 ff).

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Radicals under Bright[9] and Cobden[10]—closely associated with Manchester manufacturing and commercial interests—contended for a two years' provisional Bill.[11] However, on the nature of changes to be introduced, the Opposition showed no unanimity. While the Radicals wished to overthrow the Directors and govern India by a Secretary of State and Crown-appointed Council,[12] the Tories vaguely desired reform unless it were Lord of Ellenborough[13] bluntly advocating an end to Company rule. The Cabinet were unconvinced by the Tory-Radical arguments for delay or a mere Continuance Bill. Charles Wood[14] was anxious to legislate 'this session'; otherwise, the Company's government might be abolished altogether. But he would improve the existing system by adding selected Indian officials to the Court's membership.[15] How the Company reacted to this initial and also later stages of the passage of the Charter Act, forms the subject-matter of this article.

The Company's views on the timing of the intended legislation resembled the Government's. Russell Ellice[16] thought there might be 'serious danger' from postponing the settlement of India's future government, which should be done 'this session'.[17] To James Hogg,[18] nothing could be more injurious to public interests than a mere interim Bill, which would create an impression of some great change to come. This would paralyse the Government in India and

9. Famous Orator and Statesman; *MP* 1843, 1847, 1852, 1857, 1858, 1865, 1868, 1873, 1874, 1880-5.

10. A foremost leader of Anti-Corn Law League 1838-46; *MP* 1841-57, 1859-64.

11. Hogg to Dalhousie 8, 24 Mar. 1853-*DP* 66; Bright's speech in Commons II Mar. 1853 (*Hansard*, Vol. CXXV).

12. Scheme for Govt. of India after 30 April 1854, *WP* II; Petition, signed by Mayor of Manchester, presented to the Lords 13 May 1853 (*Hansard*, CXXVII, p. 298 ff).

13. Gov.-Gen. of India 1842-4; President, India Board 1828-30, 1834-5, 1841, 1858.

14. Whig *MP* 1832-65; President, India Board 1852-5; Sec. of State for India 1859-66.

15. Wood to Dalhousie 24 May, Nov. 1853, to Sykes 18 June 1853; *WP*, *LB* III.

16. Chairman of East India Company 1853; Director for 24 years.

17. Russell Ellice to Wood 30, 31 May 1853; *Hickleton Papers* (briefly *HP*) No. 105.

18. Chairman of E.I. Company 1846, 1852; Director for 17 years; *MP*. 1835-57.

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produce 'fearful' agitation there and in England.[19] Secondly, it appears that a few Company men, advocated reform in the mode of electing the Directors by the Court of Proprietors who seemed to be hardly interested in governing India well. Henry Prinsep,[20] in his *The India Question in* 1853,[21] rejected the idea of governing India by the Crown Minister and Council, as the latter would be subservient to the Government. But he insisted on selecting the Directors partly by co-option, and partly by Crown-nomination from officials with Indian experience. William Sykes,[22] in his 'Plan for electing East-India Directors', envisaged a simplified system of election by the Court of Proprietors, at the initiative of the Bye-Laws Committee, which would secure the ablest men.[23] John Briggs[24] contemplated choosing the Directors by a mixed process, involving the Proprietors and Government, from persons with fifteen years' Indian residence to their credit. Further, he wished to leave half of the Indian appointments to officers' sons; the rest being nominated by the Directors, subject to examination.[25]

Anyway, after the evidence before the Parliamentary Inquiry Committees had enjoined nominating part of the Court of Directors from ex-Indian officials and throwing open civil and military appointments in India to public competition,[26] Wood was ready with his first draft of India Bill by 24 March 1853. Renewing the Charter for the usual twenty years, it retained twenty-four Directors, two-thirds of whom would be chosen by the East-India Proprietors and one-third by the Court of Directors with Royal approbation from officials of ten years' Indian experience. The Directors' usual tenure would be five years, with eligibility for a further five. Regarding Indian civil appointments, half the number would be opened to public competition, the rest being appoint-

19. James Hogg to Dalhousie 24 Feb. 1853, *DP* 66.
20. ICS; Director of E.I. Company 1850-1, 1853-8.
21. See Chapter XI for Home Government; XII & XIII for Government of India.
22. Chairman of E.I. Company 1856; Director for 16 years; *MP*. 1857-72.
23. Sykes to Dalhousie 25 July 1853, *DP* 133.
24. Member of Court of Proprietors of E.I. Company.
25. John Briggs to Lord Aberdeen 26 April 1853; also Briggs' notes on India Bill; *WP* 51.
26. For details, see *Parliamentary Papers* (briefly *PP*), Vols. XXVII-XXIX, XXXI-XXXIII of 1852-3.

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ed by the Directors as before. "Military appointments as at present but examination for direct cadetships to be sanctioned by the India Board".[27] Chairman Hogg received no official intimation of the draft Bill and was only privately informed of its several provisions. But he was happy, since the necessity for changing the mode of selecting the Directors was 'universally' admitted.[28]

By 8th April, a revised outline draft was prepared.[29] While incorporating the essentials of the first draft, it was more radical in three respects. First, the Company's Charter would be renewed until Parliament provided otherwise. Secondly, the Directors would be reduced numerically to eighteen, two-thirds elected by the existing method, one-third nominated by the Crown. Moreover, all Indian civil and military appointments would be opened to competition.[30] This shift towards far-reaching reform resulted from the combined pressure exerted by discontented Whigs, Radicals and the Protectionists; and the Cabinet thought something more must be done.[31]

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors received no official intimation, although they had already (30 March) expressed their anxiety to know the proposed constitutional modifications, and had professed concurrence in any changes 'invigorating' the existing system[32]. Wood promised information on the intended changes as soon as it was consistent with his public duty to give it[33]. Confidentially, however, the scheme was mentioned to Hogg. He considered as 'harmless' the numerical reduction and part-nomination of the Directors, because the Court's existing constitution was its 'weakest point'. The only use in numbers was to secure the Court's independence and prevent it becoming a mere 'Government Board'—any number beyond what was requisite for this purpose might fairly be objected to. Besides, the existing elective system had 'justly'

27. *WP* II; also Hogg to Dalhousie 24 Mar. 1853, *DP* 66; Wood to Dalhousie 8 Mar. 1853, *WP LB* III.
28. Hogg to Dalhousie 24 Mar. 1853, *DP* 66.
29. Wood to Dalhousie 8 April 1853. *WP LB* III.
30. *'Memorandum—Indian Government'*, *WP* II.
31. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, *DP* 66.
32. J. W. Hogg and R. Ellice to Charles Wood, 30 March 1853; *Secret Home Correspondence*, Vol. 6.
33. *Ibid.*

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lowered the Directors in public estimation. Lately, several candidates had promised appointments for electoral support[34]. Ellice, too, privately, had not a word to say against the proposed changes, which would not render the Court less efficient or independent[35]. Hogg was, however, 'decidedly' opposed to the 'impracticable, absurd and wild' scheme of open competition. In confidential communications with Wood, he had suggested distribution of patronage to the principal Colleges and Schools, and argued that the Indian Civil Service required 'discreet, steady' men, not men of brilliant talents. A service, comprising 'very clever' follows, would be fatal to good government. Besides, if patronage were withdrawn, the Company's character and importance as a governing body could scarcely be maintained. Their prestige would be gone, and the feeling of attachment to and dependence on the Company which had hitherto characterized the services, and tended to work the machine, would be changed into a feeling of disregard and contempt for the Directors. These representations having failed, Hogg regretted that when such 'mighty' interests were at stake, schemes were being framed not with regard to the public interest but to meet the prevailing cry of the day[36]. Wood thought all he did was essential. The present House of Commons was 'very uncertain' and the less opportunity they were afforded for doing mischief the better[37].

Officially, only two days before introducing the Bill in Parliament, Wood communicated to the Court's Chairmen the memorandum on heads of arrangement for the Indian government, which was substantially similar to the revised draft. He said the Court's altered constitution would enhance its efficiency, while preserving unimpaired its freedom from undue political influence. Abolition of patronage would raise further the character of the civil, scientific and military services. The Charter was not being renewed for any fixed period, as it should be open to Parliamentary revision at any time[38].

34. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, *DP* 66.
35. Ellice to Dalhousie 24 April 1853, *ibid.*
36. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, *ibid.*
37. Wood to Dalhousie 8 June 1853, *WP LB* III.
38. Wood to Ellice and Major James Oliphant 1 June 1853, *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 6.

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The Chairmen were satisfied that it was proposed to continue the Company, which being exclusively devoted to its duties was essential to India's good government. However, having regard to the material and intellectual improvement of Indians since 1834, they denied the necessity or expediency of numerical reduction and partial nomination of the Court, especially when no grounds were furnished for them. Political bias might influence Crown-nominations, and partial introduction of nominated elements sow discord, without enhancing the Court's efficiency. The services of distinguished ex-Indian officials were secured already under the elective system. The present number was far better to continue; otherwise, the Court's independence, the necessary requisite for its efficiency, might cease. Finally, they expressed little confidence in open competition ensuring a higher moral and intellectual calibre of the Haileybury and Addiscombe recruits.[39]

That Wood took no notice of the Company's arguments is evident from the 'Bill for the Government of India'[40] which he asked leave to introduce in the Commons on 3 June, and which was a mere amplification of the revised draft. The Court of Directors would be reduced to eighteen, twelve elected by the Proprietors, and six named by the Crown from officials of ten years' Indian experience. Of the elected Directors, six should have ten years' Indian official experience. Having regard to Briggs' notes, the Directors' tenure was raised to six years, with eligibility for immediate re-election or re-appointment[41]. Admissions to Haileybury and Addiscombe or as Assistant Surgeons in the Company's forces were opened to competitive examinations under Regulations to be framed by the India Board[42]. Despite Hogg's defence of the Company's patronage in the Commons, the Bill was read first time[43].

39. Ellice and Oliphant to Wood 2 June 1853. *ibid.*

40. Prepared and brought in by Sir Charles Wood, Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham, 9 June 1853—see *PP Public Bills* 1852-3 Vol. III & *WP* 50.

41. Clauses I. II. III V. VII. IX.

42. Clauses XXXII. XXXIV. XXXV. ff. Only direct army appointments to Cadetships were left to the Directors.

43. See *Hansard Vol. CXXVII.*

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Meanwhile, the Court of Proprietors had debated Wood's bill. While Ellice and Hogg wanted immediate legislation maintaining the existing system, with small modifications to invigorate it, Sykes and Charles Mills[44] praised the present ICS, which laid more stress on professional than bookish knowledge and had produced numerous distinguished men. To Mackenzie[45], the Bill aimed at weakening the Court which strengthened the minister against party influences. He would retain the existing Court and enlarge it. Mackenzie's eloquence produced the Proprietors' Resolution (adopted on 21 June), re-affirming the Chairmen's earlier stand and criticising the proposed changes, especially partial nomination of the Directors, which would impair their independence and weaken the principal check on the India Board's power[46]. Wood paid no heed to the Proprietors' Resolution and his Bill passed its Second Reading.

Despite this, the Company set their face against the impending wind of change. Writing to Wood in July, the Chairmen persisted that the proposed legislation was inconsistent with the Reports of the Lords' and Commons' Committees, which favoured the Company's government. A partially nominated Court would produce conflicting views. Crown-nomination, coupled with nominated Directors' right to sit in Parliament, would introduce intimacy between nominees and the ministry and impair the Court's independence. Nomination might better be made by the Directors themselves, subject to the India Board's approbation. Also, well-qualified persons could be elected if the choice of candidates was limited to those previously approved by the Directors and the India Board. The Court's existing numbers were necessary to maintain its independence; and in view of the magnitude, vast population and diverse conditions of India. Competitive recruitment tested merely book knowledge and was difficult to operate so as to insure success to the best qualified. It might also diminish the subordination of the Company's officials.

44. Member, Court of Directors, 1822-4, 1826-9, 1831-4, 1836-9, 1841-4, 1846-9, 1851-8.

45. Holt Mackenzie: best remembered for his work as Settlement Officer; Commissioner India Board, 1832-4.

46. Ellice and Oliphant, the Chairmen of the Directors, transmitted the Resolution to Wood 22 June 1853 (*Secret Home Correspondence*, Vol. 6). See also *General Court Minutes*, Vol. 18 and East India Debates.

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But if it were adopted, it should be introduced gradually and regulations framed by the Directors, subject to the India Board's approval[47].

Wood replied that with their commercial character terminated in 1833, the Company had only the dividends of their stock secured on the Indian revenues and could be continued in Indian administration for good government alone. It was the favourable tenor of Parliamentary evidence which secured the Company's continuance as an integral part of the Indian government, despite clamours for its abolition. But this did not prevent reforms which would improve the system, preserving its essentials. Numerical reduction of an executive council like the Court would not affect its independence. Introduction of nominees would secure the services of ex-Indian officials who were otherwise excluded by a long and expensive electioneering processs. If they were selected by the Court, they would feel dependent on the Directors and dominant party in the Court and perpetuate their power by introducing partisans. Nor was the Government's nomination objectionable. It was limited to officials of ten years' Indian experience, who were very much removed from British politics. With an increased responsibility to Parliament, the Ministers could not but select the ablest. High feelings of duty and daily intercourse with elected colleagues would prevent nominee-members from depending on the Government or forming a close coterie. Finally, competitive recruitment would ensure extra-academic qualifications on the part of the Indian civil and military servants[48].

With Wood's contradiction of the Company's viewpoint, the Commons proceeded to Committee[49]. Ellice still hoped the Cabinet would give way on Crown-nomination of 'so many' Directors, but feared that on numbers they would be unrelenting.[50] While Ross Mangles[51] in vain supported an amendment retaining the

47. R. Ellice and J. Oliphant to C. Wood I July 1853, *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 6.

48. Wood to Ellice and Oliphant 5 July 1853, *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 7.

49. The deliberations lasted 8-28 July; *Hansard,* Vols. CXXVIII & CXXIX.

50. R. Ellice to Dalhousie 7 July 1853, *DP* 66.

51. ICS; *MP* 1841-58; Director, E.I. Company, 1847-50, 1852-8; Chairman, 1857.

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Court's existing numbers[52], Hogg failed to prevent a clause illegalising the Company's salt-manufacturing monopoly from May 1856[53]. Wood's Bill had thus passed the Commons (29 July) practically unscathed except for the salt-clause, and this had ironically enough gone further against the Company's interests.

In these circumstances, the Chairmen 'decidedly' requested withdrawal of the salt-clause, which would impair the responsibility of the Indian Government and embarass their financial system[54]. Regarding the Bill generally, the Court of Directors adopted a Minute (29 July) which, while 'regretting' the rejection of their view-point, considered it 'inexpedient' to offer further opposition and agreed to defer to Parliamentary decisions. Ellice persuaded the Proprietors to accept this Minute.[55] Such defeatism did not, however, find favour with Mackenzie, who moved an amendment, advocating the postponement of legislation till after mature consideration, and requesting the Directors to petition Parliament. The Court should not be numerically reduced arbitrarily. Crown-nomination was rendered peculiarly objectionable by the Directors' short tenure and re-eligibility on expiry of their term. After a long debate the Amendment was withdrawn and a petition to the Lords approved with one dissentient voice. (3 August). The Petition solemnly protested against a proceeding which could only be justified by proved delinquency. Partial nomination would enhance ministerial power over a Court already controlled by the India Board, and lead to a Colonial-type government, though without its securities, which must prove an irresponsible despotism. The Court was being reduced numerically in the absence of Parliamentary recommendation and despite the Company's protests, when it needed strengthening for greatly increased responsibilities. The Petition concluded, therefore, that clause reforming the Court's constitution should be amended to ensure its efficiency and independence[56].

Paying no heed to the Proprietors' Petition, the Lords read

52. *House of Commons Proceedings*, 8 & 11 July 1853.
53. *Commons Proceedings*, 8 & 11 July 1853.
54. Ellice and Oliphant to Wood 4 August 1853 (*Letters from E.I. Company to Board of Control*, Vol. 21).
55. *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 7, *General Court Minutes* Vol. 18.
56. East India House Debates; General Court Minutes, *ibid.*

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the Bill a second time. In Committee, Ellenborough carried an amendment, making the India Board's signature on despatches as valid as the Court's. His other amendment, rejecting the salt-clause, was lost, (8 August). Vainly did he argue that this interference with Indian finance would not benefit Indians but only a few British salt-manufacturers.

The Court felt 'very strongly' on the 'signature-clause', which was nothing short of an 'insult'. The Chairmen urged Wood to expunge such an 'obnoxious, objectionable, and unconstitutional' clause, if he meant to preserve popularity with the Court. Government rested with the Company and the signing of despatches was a Governmental act. The Board, with all their importance, had not the functions of Government[57]. Following the Chairmen's vehement opposition, the Lords omitted the signature-clause during the third reading (12 August). With the commons withdrawing the salt-clause (15 August) and the Royal Assent given to Wood's Bill (20 August), the Company won on two points but lost the main battle. Sykes was not reconciled to this 'very odd' Act, which he regarded as prompted by a Whig bid to retain power by satisfying the Tories and Radicals and preventing their having a common ground. He criticised the Court's reduction in the face of a four-fold increase in its business since 1833. Moreover, the nominee-system introduced 'conflicting' elements into a body which had hitherto derived power from a common source, and violated Whig representative principles. Sykes also assailed the abolition of Patronage, which would now be 'scrambled' for by the public[58]. Collectively, the Proprietors discussed a motion refusing assent to the Act, as being adverse to Indian interests[59]. But the time had passed when pamphlets from the India House ensured the triumph of its cause. The Directors' fate was no longer in their hands. The 'Mutiny' served only to discredit further an already unpopular organisation and whatever remained of the Company's structure and powers after 1853 was swept away in 1858.

57. Ellice to Wood 10 August 1853, *HP* 105; Ellice and Oliphant to Wood 10 August 1853 (*Letters from E.I. Company to Board of Control*, Vol. 21).

58. Sykes to Dalhousie 25 July, 2 Nov. 1853; *DP* 133. For Ellice's reaction, see R. Ellice to Wood 29 Aug. 1853 (*HP* 105), in which the former transmitted Dalhousie's criticism of the Charter Act.

59. *General Court Proceedings* on 12 Aug. 1853 (*General Court Minutes*, Vol 18 and *East India House Debates*).

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Curzon's Educational Reform in India

BY

V. C. Bhutani

Indian leaders acquired in time an acquaintance with western principles of political economy and practical economics and were at last able to call in question the economic policies of the British government. This growth of enlightened inquisitiveness had been brought about by the effects of processes like development of the means of communication, the advance of social reforms, an awareness of past heritage, access to western thought and literature and the growth of the press.[1] Educated Indians could match the supposed intellectual superiority of the British rulers. Indian leaders and a few English sympathizers became so vocal and influential by their writings and speeches that towards the end of the nineteenth century the British government was alarmed by the power of the Indian press and sought to impose restrictions on it as Salisbury had done twenty years earlier. People in India, however, were by then disillusioned about the nature and motives of British rule. Indian nationalist leaders were loud in their denunciation of foreign domination. The government watched the rise of this nationalist feeling with suspicion and distrust and attempted at first to convince itself that opposition to British rule did not exist. The government would not recognize the movement of Indian nationalists who organized themselves in the National Congress and was anxious to take, and to appear to take, no notice of it. The government even deluded itself that the Congress was losing its importance on account of indifference shown towards it.[2] Curzon was himself its firm opponent and did not accept it as representative of the Indian mas-

1. H. L. Singh, *The Problems and Policies of the British in India 1885-1898* (Bombay, 1963), p. 260. *Cf.* S. Gopal, *British Policy in India 1858-1905* (London, 1965) pp. 201-2.

2. Hamilton to Elgin, 11 December 1896. *Hamilton Papers.* Eur. MSS. Colls. C-125/1, 75.

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ses.[3] With an attitude of distinctive self-complacency he convinced himself that it was enough to consult and conciliate public opinion without according recognition to it or to the Congress, which in his view was fast dissolving for lack of people's participation.[4] He had no illusions, however, that although the government might take no cognizance of the Congress and treat it in public with obvious indifference, there was "slowly growing up a sort of a national feeling".[5] He tried during his tenure in India to take the wind out of the sails of the Congress by carrying out reforms which he thought would remove cause of complaint, but he would not hold "any communion with the unclean thing".[6] Indian public opinion had advanced considerably in recent years and it was not possible to disregard it in formulating administrative policies, although Curzon would not seek to placate it in any form.[7] He realized that with the passage of time India would demand more generous treatment. Public opinion was becoming both more vocal and more weighty and it was no longer possible that a cabinet sitting in London should prescribe policies to be carried out by its representatives in India.[8] Forces like education, free press, selection, albeit limited, by competitive examination for public service, the civil courts and the increasing power of the capitalist classes over agriculturists were undermining the old order of things which formed the basis of British rule and were leading to the formation of an anti-British radicalism which could only result in the overthrow of any foreign and autocratic administration.[9] To conciliate public opinion then

3. Curzon to Hamilton, 27 September 1899. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/2, 40.

4. Curzon to Hamilton, 18 November 1900. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/4, 52.

5. Curzon to Balfour, 31 March 1901. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/181, 211.

6. Curzon to Ampthill, 15 June 1903. *Curzon Papers*, MSS. Eur. F. 111/207, 101. *Cf.* T. Raleigh, "Introduction", *Lord Curzon in India*, volume i (London, 1906), pp. xix-xx.

7. Curzon to A. Godley, 27 January 1904. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/163, 4.

8. Curzon to Hamilton, 17 September 1902. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/8, 40.

9. Hamilton to Curzon, 6 January 1903. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. C-126/5, 1.

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was the only alternative open to government and in spite of his unconcealed abhorrence of Indian democratic instincts, Curzon deemed it proper to attempt to take the public into his confidence, at least as far as education was concerned.[10] But he only listened to Indians; he rarely acted according to their expectations.

I

Curzon's earliest opinions about Indian education were that the government had paid insufficient attention to its progress and that funds for its support had not been provided. He felt that the government had decentralized authority to a dangerous degree and the provincial governments had likewise left power in the hands of committees or bodies which for the most part were outside the control of government.[11] Primary education was by far the most important aspect which government wished to support and make the basis of the Indian educational system.[12] Its progress, however, was such that it could not be said to have been remotely approached the modest goal that the government had set for itself. The proportion of children of school-going age was computed to be about 15 per cent of the population. Of this proportion only 17.7 per cent were in schools. Reasons for this lack of progress were different in the different provinces but primary education appeared to have languished almost everywhere. Secondary education suffered from a confusion of types of institutions, namely, vernacular middle schools, vernacular high schools and English high schools. Vernacular secondary education was conducted "on the cheap" while English secondary education was about adequate in the three presidencies and the Punjab and generally unsatisfactory elsewhere.[13] The Education Commission of 1882–83 had said that the education of boys through

10. Curzon to Hamilton, 28 August 1901. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/6, 39.

11. (a) Curzon to A. Godley, 18 October 1890, *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/158, 48. (b) Note by Curzon, 20 October 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, February* 1900, 28-36.

12. Note by Curzon, 23 October 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1899, 25-27.

13. Note by H. Luson, deputy secretary, home department, 21 July 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1899, 25-27.

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the medium of English instead of vernaculars put them at a comparative disadvantage and had recommended that the vernaculars should replace English as the medium of instruction in schools.[14] But the people had a decided preference for English education. At the same time public funds were being utilized too much in support of English education to the detriment of vernacular education in secondary schools, the respective cost to public exchequer per student per year being Rs. 24 and Rs. 6.8.[15]

The government had withdrawn from the support of higher education according to the policy recommended by the Education Commission of 1882-83.[16] Private effort, however, was quite enterprising and only one fourth of the colleges with 27.5 per cent of the students were under public management. Expenditure was met to the extent of 42.22 per cent from provincial revenues, 34.14 per cent from fees and 23.64 per cent from other private sources.[17] Private expenditure on higher education was thus considerably more than the outlay from public funds, showing that the people were appreciative of its advantages and were willing to pay for it although it may have been because the government would do so little for the expansion of higher education. Curzon believed that higher education had slipped from the control of government as a result of lack of attention and courage and, "wielded by ill-educated vakils", it had become a strong lever for the spread of political mischief.[18]

Early in his tenure of office Curzon had begun to think that the policy of government towards education was not satisfactory and stood in need of thorough diagnosis and reform. The diagnosis was carried out by the Educational Conference at Simla in September 1901. The burden of Curzon's argument was that the

14. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1882-83 (Calcutta, 1883), para 250.

15. Note by Luson, 21 July 1899, *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1899, 25-27.

16. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1882-83 (Calcutta, (1883), para 535.

17. Note by Luson, 21 July 1899, *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1899, 25-27.

18. Curzon to Godley, 31 January 1901. *Curzon Papers.* MSS. Eur. F. 111/160, 8.

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policy of government had been so relaxed that it had ceased to conform to any conceivable system or principles.[19] The deliberations of the conference had only proceeded half way when he felt convinced that there was "a total lack of system, an ignorance of principles and a want of uniformity in practice, that have reduced education in India to a state almost of chaos".[20] The policy recommended by the conference was in reality an affirmation of the views that Curzon had formed and embodied more his personal judgment based on sound commonsense and a study of Indian educational needs than an expression of the views of the educationists assembled at Simla. The proceedings of the conference were dominated by Curzon whose personal presence imparted to it an aura of dignity. His subsequent claims that the educational experts had formulated the policy would require a modification that the experts were persuaded to accept Curzon's resolutions.

The conference felt that on account of more ostentatious results obtained from the application of funds to higher education, primary education had been denied its share of patronage: once again its claims to provincial revenues were urged. The principal measures to improve and expand primary education were more schools, better buildings and equipment, higher pay for teachers and increased and improved facilities for their training. Grants-in-aid to primary schools had till then been given on a system of payment by results. This had been shown to be fraught with baneful effects inasmuch as it encouraged forced filling of schools with unwilling pupils and their undeserved promotion from one class to the next. It was recommended that the system should be progressively abolished and replaced by arrangements based on local circumstances. The adoption of kindergarten methods adapted to Indian ideas and conditions was expected to result in an improvement of the content of the primary courses and to discourage mere development of memory by fostering a capacity for reasoning from observation. Rural primary schools were also

19. Curzon's inaugural speech, Educational Conference, Simla, 2 September 1901. *Speeches by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India*, volume ii (Calcutta, 1902), pp. 309-338.

20. Curzon to Hamilton, 11 September 1901, *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/6, 41.

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approved and were later established in Bombay, Punjab and the Central Provinces. Better text-books for use in these schools, the conference held, should be composed to promote the training of students in agricultural practices.

In respect of secondary education the conference observed that schools had been recognized on conditions that were too easy and inadequate while teaching was conditioned by the need to pass a series of examinations which discouraged sound teaching and turned out insufficiently taught students for higher education. Hence the reform should proceed in the direction of more stringent conditions for recognition, better curricula of teaching, better teachers and intensified inspection to ensure confirmation to standards laid down by government. The conditions for recognition as prescribed were that there should be genuine need of a school, its financial stability should be assured and its managing body properly constituted, a proper standard of teaching should be attained and provision made for the exercise of due influence and control on the health and discipline of students and the character and qualifications of teachers. Considerable emphasis was laid on the need to pay more attention to the moral and physical education of the students and on their residence in hostels as far as possible. Also fees should not be so low as to hurt other institutions in the neighbourhood. At the same time the conference felt that schools were imparting an instruction that was too literary. In their view it was necessary that the teaching should be such as to provide openings for students in vocations other than clerical. Hence it recommended that after the end of the middle course students should be branched into courses that would fit them for commercial and industrial pursuits. Special commercial education was favoured. And in order to do away with the tyranny of examinations in schools it was recommended that there should be no examination before the completion of the school course which should be terminated by a school final examination.

It was not enough, however, to give a school education to students who might aspire to technical professions. It was recommended that having passed through a course of general instruction in ordinary schools students should be drafted on to technical institutions for the theoretical study and practical application of the

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scientific methods and principles of any craft, industry or profession. The object was not to foster industry in schools but to prepare students for an informed start in industry. The encouragement of particular local arts or industries should be effected by means of instruction in industrial schools. These too should be educational institutions dealing with the development of indigenous products in rural areas and manufactures in urban areas.[21]

Much depended on the type of teachers available for schools. It was recommended, therefore, that the number of training schools for primary teachers and training colleges for secondary teachers should be increased and their quality improved. In implementing this scheme it was decided that the training schools should organize two years' course for primary teachers and the training colleges should provide a one year course for graduates and a two years' course for undergraduates.[22]

The conference terminated without recording any opinion on the question of curriculum and text-books but the heads of the educational departments of the three presidencies and the three major provinces met informally and resolved that courses of study should be framed on the pattern followed in Bengal where effort was directed towards the simultaneous development and training of the child's senses and powers of observation. The text-books should be prepared for the various stages of school education rising in volume and intricacy with the advancing stages.[23] The question, however, had attracted notice much earlier when the

21. (a) Proceedings and resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901; (b) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 6 and 20 November 1901. *Home Department. Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

22. (a) Proceedings and resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901; (b) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 20 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

23. (a) Conclusions of the directors of public instruction of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and Oudh and Punjab and the inspector general of education of the Central Provinces, "Informal Meeting", Simla, 19 September 1901; (b) government of India to local government and administrations, 27 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

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secretary of state observed that the text-books in use were not "wholesome and adapted to the crude understanding of Oriental students".[24] An inquiry into the preparation and selection of text-books had been started but a fresh review was considered feasible from the political point of view.[25] Text-books in schools were selected by text-book committees in every province but the powers of the committees varied and the system had worked with different results and effectiveness in the different provinces. The provincial systems disregarded the principles laid down in 1833 and had allowed them so far to fall into desuetude that the system had "ceased to conform to the directions of the Government of India" Curzon himself thought that the provinces were working in complacent evasion or contravention of principles more than once laid down and had abdicated their functions to bodies over which the educational departments or officers had little or no control.[26] It was decided, therefore, that the functions of the text-book committees should be purely advisory instead of mandatory and they should be presided over always by the directors of public instruction and their sub-committees by inspectors. All schools under public management or in receipt of aid should have to select from lists of books approved by the committees and unaided schools, less amenable to such official control, should be required similarly to select from wider lists also approved by the committees, but if unaided schools prescribed unauthorized books their students should be barred from sitting at any public examination for scholarships or employment.[27] The object obviously was that government should have an effective voice in the selection of text-books in schools.

24. Secretary of State to Government of India, 16 December 1897. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, February* 1900, 25-36.

25. (a) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 30 June 1898 and replies from local governments and administrations. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, February* 1900, 25-36. (b) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 23 March 1899 and replies from local governments and administrations. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, June* 1901, 39-55.

26. Note by Curzon, 20 October 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, February* 1900, 25-36.

27. Resolution, 8 February 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, February* 1900, 25-36.

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Likewise the question of technical education had been examined earlier but action required consisted in an expansion of the existing arrangements which were considered to be based on sound principles.[28] The expansion of industrial schools was desired and a committee was appointed to advise on the lines of expansion. The recommendations of this committee, however, were unpractical and opposed to the policy adopted in 1901 and were turned down *en bloc*.[29] It was decided that for large centres of industrial enterprise, e.g., Bombay, Howrah, Kanpur, etc., where capital was invested on a large scale and scope existed for the employment of highly trained and skilled workmen, it was feasible to establish full time industrial schools for advanced training in individual crafts or trades, whereas for smaller industries which could be carried on with much less capital in private establishments the object was to maintain and develop a child's inherited skill and to give him a general education to enlarge his prospects.[30] Technical scholarships were instituted for more advanced technical training than whole-time schools and other institutions in India could provide. The scholarships would enable promising workmen to receive training in advanced western countries.[31] Curzon, however, only succeeded in providing a stimulus to the expansion of institutions of technical education by giving a push to existing arrangements by a pledge of financial assistance to selected institutions in Bombay, Bengal and the Central Provinces.[32] No positive steps could be taken but the theoretical foundations of a policy had been laid and a beginning made in the right direction. The progress of technical education occurred in later years. Curzon's work mainly consisted in providing a basis on which a structure could be built.

28. (a) E. C. Buck, *Report on Technical and Practical Education* (Calcutta, 1900). (b) Government of India to local governments and administration, 20 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

29. J. E. Clibborn, *Report on Industrial Education* (Calcutta, 1903).

30. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 30 September 1908. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, 19 October 1903.

31. Resolution, 14 January 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, January* 1904, 32-32*A*.

32. Government of India to governments of Bombay and Bengal and chief commissioner of Central Provinces, 26 October 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1905, 44-56.

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In other respects the policy laid down at Simla was prescribed for the provinces and since the provision of funds only would work for the progress of education the government made a special grant for educational expenditure. The results of the additional outlay were that, apart from capital investment on buildings for schools and hostels and on equipment, more schools were established with more teachers in them, the training of teachers was improved and they were better paid, and higher grants were given to schools.[33] Most of the expenditure was devoted to the advancement of primary education. Subsequently when the educational policy of government was formally laid down in 1904 it became obvious that a further considerable grant of funds for educational expenditure would have to be made.[34] The experience in the wake of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882–83 had shown that in spite of the adoption of sound principles the progress of education had been inadequate and unsatisfactory chiefly because the government had not provided money "to speed reform on its way" while the educational grant of 1902 made shortly after the Educational Conference had given "an enormous impetus to education".[35] It was realized that educational advance in India would "depend much less upon Government Resolutions or even legislations, than upon actual expenditure" and that the policy lately pursued foreshadowed increased public expenditure on education for a considerable time to come.[36] Notwithstanding repeated official pronouncements on the importance of primary education the result had only been a dismal record of failures to carry out that policy. It was not enough to lay down a policy without providing funds for its implementation.[37] In his last year Curzon went so far as to add a recurring grant only for primary

33. Local governments and administrations to Government of India, *Home Department, Education B Proceedings. October* 1905, 65-72.

34. Resolution, 11 March 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings. May* 1904, 67-76.

35. H. W. Orange, director general of education, to J. O. Miller, private secretary to viceroy, 20 March 1904. *Curzon Papers.* MSS Eur. F. 111/209. 103. *See* footnote 73, *infra.*

36. Miller to D. Ibbetson, home member, 25 March 1904. *Curzon Papers* MSS. Eur. F. 111/209, 81.

37. Curzon to Broadrick, 12 January 1905. *Curzon Papers.* MSS. Eur. F. 111/164, 8.

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education to an equal importance and a claim to patronage from public funds.[38] The result of this emphasis was a revival of the government's interest in secondary education after Curzon's departure.[39]

II

The education of the children of European parentage or mixed European and Indian parentage also received considerable attention although this subject was no part of the Indian educational system. It should be studied, however, because this parenthetic system gradually took roots in India and has in time come to be recognized in the form of public school education at present, as having distinct merit for Indian students also. For European children it was a drawback to receive an Indian education because in India they would be regarded as taught on unsatisfactory lines, while in England the value of their education would be suspect because Indian examinations were not recognized.[40] Neither was it possible to instruct European children according to the English public school system because competent examiners were not available or willing to apply the tests of Indian examinations to students who had been taught on a system for which English examinations alone were suitable and of value afterwards. In order, thus, that European children might be assured better employment prospects in India and on return to England, it was suggested that the Cambridge examinations should be introduced in India and offi-

38. Note by Curzon, 16 October 1905. *Finance Department, Accounts and Finance A Proceedings, March* 1906, 105-108.

39. Note by Orange, 1 June 1906. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, 31 October* 1906. No conspicuous financial results ensued as far as secondary education was concerned though, Curzon, however, had made the following recurring grants for education during his tenure:

1902 Rs. 40 lakhs for implementation of the recommendations of the Educational Conference.
1904-05 Rs. 5 lakhs for higher education,
1904-05 Rs. 2½ lakhs for technical education and
1904-05 Rs. 35 lakhs for primary education.

All these grants were in addition to funds assigned to the provincial governments under five yearly financial settlements. *Vide* S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A History of Education in India* (Bombay, 1951), p. 437.

40. Note by Luson, 12 March 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, July* 1900, 31-36.

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cially recognized as equivalent to corresponding Indian university or departmental examinations.[41]

A deputation of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association waited upon the Governor General on 23 March 1900 to bring the matter to the notice of government. Curzon was aware that a charge of partiality would be plausibly made if the government gave more patronage to the education of European children but he was prepared to pay more attention to the subject than had been done in the past.[42] The Association later formed a committee to represent to the government formally. The committee was representative of the various sections of the European community and was presided over by the Bishop of Calcutta who later drew up a memorandum on the subject.[43] This powerful intercession by the Bishop led the government to consider the suitability of Cambridge examinations as tests for public employment in India.[44] The matter, however, waited until the educationists assembled at Simla in 1901 for the Educational Conference after which the representatives of the six major provinces met informally to consider the question of European education.[45] Their deliberations issued in the formulation of opinions and recommendations. It was suggested that a uniform code should apply to European schools in all provinces after necessary revision, that separate colleges for Europeans were not neces-

41. Speech by Arden Wood, principal, La Martiniere, Calcutta at the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, Calcutta, 12 February 1900. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 13 February 1900.

42. Curzon's reply to the address from the deputation of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, Calcutta, 23 March 1900. *Speeches by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India*, volume i (Calcutta, 1900), pp. 286-299.

43. Memorandum by the Bishop of Calcutta, 30 May 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, July* 1900, 31-36.

44. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 6 October 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, July* 1900, 31-36.

45. The "Informal Conference" on 18 and 19 September 1901 was attended by the directors of public instruction of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab and the inspector general of education of the Central Provinces and was presided over by the secretary in the home department. Proceedings of the "Informal Conference". *Home Department, Educational A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61

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sary, that European students should be given higher scholarships than were given in the case of Indians and more scholarships should be instituted, that the government should step in where private effort was lacking, that European education should be placed under a separate inspector in each province, that arrangements for the training of teachers for European schools should be made at a central training college, and that Cambridge examinations should be introduced in India and recognized as qualifying for admission to the public service.[46]

On the basis of the views of the provincial governments and the proceedings of the "Informal Conference" at Simla the government formulated an attitude towards European education. It was decided that the "Bengal Code" which embodied the rules applying to European schools should be revised and made uniformly applicable. The European community had generally charged that the government overlooked the interests of European students on account of the louder claims of Indian education. In reality the cost of instruction of every European and Eurasian student and the contribution of the state towards it was higher than in the case of an Indian student. The difficulty was in respect of the higher education of European students. This would be met by higher and more scholarships. There would also be a general allocation of scholarships for European students "in all stages of education". It was decided that the state should come forward where there was a concentration of European population of the poorer classes. Inspection agency for these schools should be separately but economically organised. The government had conceded, however, that the European children were entitled to higher patronage, with the result that they were the objects of special solicitude in every respect. A central training college would be established at Allahabad for the training of 25 male teachers annually; no such arrangement was made for women teachers because they were on the whole available. The teachers would be assured fixity of tenure and higher remuneration in

46. A. Pedler, director of public instruction, Bengal, on behalf of the "Informal Conference" to government of India, 23 September 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-01.

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private or denominational schools by grant-in-aid to school upto half the salary generally and upto two thirds in poor areas. The students in European schools should also learn vernaculars because knowledge of vernaculars was essential for public or private employment of Europeans in India. Finally, it was laid down that the Cambridge senior local examination should be introduced as the school final examination for European schools because such transplanting of an examination already recognized in England was far simpler than the possible recognition of a multiplicity of Indian examinations by public and private agencies in England. Likewise the London chamber of commerce senior commercial examination was also commended for similar reasons as a test for commercial employment in England. And instead of prescribing another qualifying test for the public service in India the existing school final examination of European schools and the proposed Cambridge senior local examination and the London chamber of commerce senior commercial examination were recognized as so qualifying.[47] Subsequently a committee to revise the "Bengal Code" was appointed by nominating the representatives of the six major provinces.[48]

The provincial opinions in response to the latest reference from the government of Inida and the report of the committee on the "Bengal Code" formed the basis of further conclusions then reached.[49] The earlier views were substantially reaffirmed. The principal alterations were that instead of establishing more schools the students would be sent into hostels and the government would contribute towards their expenditure, the grants-in-aid would be calculated on the basis of actual difference between expenditure and receipts, and salary grants would be admissible for register-

47. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 27 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

48. Resolution, 1 March 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, April* 1902, 54-65.

49. (a) Local governments and administrations to Government of India. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, October* 1902, 52-61. (b) *Report of the Committee to revise Code of Regulations for European Schools in Bengal to prepare a Uniform Code for India and Bengal* (Calcutta, 1903).

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ed teachers only, for which purpose provincial registers of trained teachers would be maintained.[50]

In the meanwhile some of the European schools in the hills had been applying for government aid in the form of loans and grants. On one such application the finance member raised an objection in principle to any help being given to denominational institutions as had been done in the past.[51] This led to the appointment of an "informal committee" to examine the financial condition of European schools, the causes which brought some of them into difficulties and the practical means by which such difficulties might be avoided in future.[52] The director general of education obtained the views of his colleagues on this committee on some of the more important matters like the code and salary grants.[53] Subsequently the committee also submitted its views on the matters referred to it.[54] The committee recommended a higher scale of salaries for teachers and the retention of the existing system of calculation of salary grants on the basis of attendance but at a higher rate. Grants to particular schools were given and the provincial governments were asked to enforce the revised code.[55]

As to hill schools the crux of the matter was that on account of incompetence and mismanagement there was a prospect of their collapse. Unless helped in time to stand on their own legs they would soon close down and drive the government to organize a system of state schools for European children because their

50 Government of India to local governments and administrations, 14 July 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, July* 1903, 76-78.

51. Note by E. FG. Law, finance member, 7 November 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, May* 1903, 111-112.

52. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 23 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1903, 12-25.

53. Memorandum by Orange, 25 October 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, September* 1905, 58-72.

54. *Report of the Committee upon the Financial Condition of Hill Schools for Europeans in Northern India* (Calcutta, 1904), volumes i and ii.

55. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 14 August 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, September* 1905, 58-72.

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parents could not afford to send them to England. Assisting moribund schools with liberal aid from public funds and thus making them efficient and effective instruments of the education of European children was more economical than a whole system of state schools established on their debris. Far from being an illustration of the undue liberality or partiality of government towards European schools it was a circumspective step which would save the government much expense.[56] It was expedient that the state should not compete with private effort.[57] Having arrived at a policy the government also turned its attention to the grant of substantial funds in aid of European education and made a recurring annual grant of Rs. 2.46 lakhs beginning with 1906–07.[58]

III

The opinions on higher education and university work that Curzon saw early during his tenure led him to believe that the affiliation of colleges had been granted without taking care to see that the applying institutions had adequate arrangements for the physical, moral and intellectual development of students. Secondly, text-books were enumerated in long lists prescribed by universities and teachers had to rush through books in a superficial way, which encouraged cramming to the detriment of the discipline of the intellect. Thirdly, the university bodies were too full of men who had no inclination or competence to devote themselves to university matters.[59] Curzon laid strong emphasis on the moral and physical development of students in schools and colleges. With his large experience of educational and university matters it was easy for him to perceive that in India influences

56. Note by A. T. Arundel, home member, 6 July 1905, and by Curzon, 19 July 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, August* 1905, 67-68.

57. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 14 August 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, August* 1905, 67-68.

58. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 26 May 1906. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, May* 1906, 143-144.

59. Note by A. H. L. Fraser, secretary, home department, 20 September 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1899, 25-27.

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and interests were at work which prevented the proper training and instruction of students for the full development of their moral potentiality. On account of the impact of political leadership higher education in India had indeed swerved from the pursuit of learning to cheap and shallow acquaintance with the economic and political thought of the west and its application to Indian questions although there were basic differences of context in western and Indian problems. The only adviser available to government had no hesitation in saying that university organization needed improvement. But he was anxious that nothing should be done that would place the universities under "permanent Government tutelage". He would reduce the strength and the powers of the senates and syndicates of the universities but he advised a more careful inquiry before action was taken.[60]

The senates of the universities were their governing bodies instituted by the Acts of Incorporation but their members, known as fellows, were not all educational experts and not specially competent to fulfil their academic obligations. In reality, however, the universities were being run by the syndicates, which were in effect executive committees of the senates, but they had no statutory foundation in the case of the presidency universities. They had come into existence almost by stealth and had usurped many of the most important functions of the senates. In some cases the senates could not even consider a question unless it had been first considered and recommended by the syndicates. The syndicates thus held power which did not belong to them. They were less unsatisfactory as to their composition because there were more educationists on them. Non-academic members, however, were often in a majority. The ailment had sprung from the unduly large membership of the parent bodies, the senates, to which fellows were nominated to confer a titular honour on persons who might never set foot in the senate chamber. Alternatively they were elected not because their attainments constituted them sound advisers but because they had canvassed while better men had not.

Affiliation of colleges was an easy process because it was granted on application stating that the applying institution would

60. Demi-official, T. Raleigh, law member to Fraser, 20 September 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1899, 25-27.

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be fit by its staff, financial soundness and physical surroundings to exercise a healthy influence on the education, character and discipline of its students. No proper care was taken to verify by effective inspection that the applications were correctly made. And except in Madras there was no provision for disaffiliation of the colleges if they ceased to conform to conditions on which they had been affiliated, although the power of disaffiliation was only complimentary to and not inconsistent with the power of affiliation.

Finally, it was not altogether justified that the universities should only be examining bodies although they were so intended to be by their Acts of Incorporation. In India the internal pressure of those competent to advise and the views of acknowledged experts in England had inclined towards making the Indian universities teaching bodies as those at Lahore and Allahabad indeed were, in law if not in practice yet.[61]

Curzon was convinced that higher education had been allowed to slip too far out of the hands of government and that it was being controlled by people in whose hands it could only become "a potent political instrument".[62] The senates had overgrown under a system of nomination and election to a state where there was a potential risk of the extrusion of European standards and influence. The elective principle had so far had no other result that "a cleverly organized system of canvassing and a thoroughly undistinguished list of nominees". It was, in his view, necessary to reduce the senates to more manageable proportions and to maintain a proper balance of Europeans and Indians and officials and non-officials. Curzon was opposed to the election of more than a third of the total membership of the senates. The syndicates, each an *imperium in imperio,* should be accorded statutory sanction because the work of the universities could not be carried on without them. They should be even enlarged a little with a larger academic element in their composition. With these modifications he hoped to make the senates and syndicates more busi-

61. Note by J. P. Hewett, secretary, home department, 31 December 1899, and by Curzon, 30 January 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1901, 122-129.

62. Curzon to Godley, 31 January 1901. *Curzon Papers.* MSS. Eur. F. 111/160, 8.

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ness like in running the universities.[63] The object ostensibly was to increase western rather than official control. But western control could be exercised by people educated in the west. At the opening of the twentieth century very few Indians had the opportunity or resources to equip themselves with a western education which might have induced the government to consider them safe and eligible for nomination to university bodies. In practice thus the preponderance of western influence in the universities amounted to an extension of official influence. This was justified by government with the argument that the prevalent system of higher education was based and run on western methods and conceptions and could only be worked by men trained in western traditions and habits of thought.[64] It was felt necessary to amend the prevalent system if Indian universities were to be prevented from turning into "nursaries of discontented characters and stunted brains."[65]

Under Curzon's domineering lead the Educational Conference lost no time in recommending a thorough constitutional reform of the universities. It favoured strengthening of the powers of government in respect of affiliation, recognition and text-books. The idea of a detailed inquiry preceding legislative action was also considered desirable.[66] Ere long Curzon was advised by Professor William Ramsay, who was "an ardent apostle of reform in converting the university of London into a great teaching university",[67] to introduce extensive centralization of Indian universities. Shortly afterwards the government constituted the Indian Universities Commission.[68]

63. (a) Note by Pedler, 2 May 1900; (b) Minute by Curzon, 23 February 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1901, 122-129.

64. Note by Pedler, 2 May 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1901, 122-129.

65. Curzon to Hamilton, 28 August 1901. *Hamilton Papers.* Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/6, 39.

66. Proceedings and resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

67. (a) *Dictionary of National Biography* 1912-1921 (Oxford, 1927), pp. 444-446. (b) William Ramsay to Curzon, 31 December 1901. *Curzon Papers.* MSS. Eur. F. 111/182, 51.

68. Resolution, 27 January 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings,* January 1902, 133-162.

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The commission speedily completed their work and when they reported less than six months later, their findings and recommendations bore a striking similarity to the resolutions adopted by the Educational Conference. Among the most contentious of their recommendations were those which would fix a minimum rate of fees and abolish second grade colleges. Stringent conditions for the affiliation of colleges were suggested, namely, that the desirability of the institution should be certified by the director of public instruction, that its financial stability should be assured, that its governing body should be properly constituted, that an adequate teaching staff should be provided, that suitable and healthy buildings should be available, that the principal and professors of the college should reside in close proximity to the college, as far as possible, that arrangements should exist for the supervised residence of students in hostels, that the subjects and courses of study should be satisfactory and that a minimum scale of fees should be laid down.[69]

The commission tried to formulate a policy in respect of languages. After matriculation an Indian vernacular should only be studied along with the corresponding classical language, because in the commission's view only the classical languages have a good literature which vernaculars had not. They found the teaching of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian faulty and sought to improve it by insisting on better qualified teachers. For M.A. a vernacular was only to be read as subsidiary to a classical language or English. In short the vernaculars could not be read for their own sake but as appendages to other languages. However, the commission opposed the teaching of modern European languages other than English.[70]

On the constitution of the universities the commission found, as the Educational Conference had done, that the senates were too large and likewise recommended that the standard of qualifications

69. (a) *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902 (Calcutta, 1902), paras 57(1), 61-63, 66, 69, 71-75 and 77. (b) Resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901, number 18, 23, 41-43 and 55-60. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61.

70. *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902 (Calcutta, 1902), paras 88-98.

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for the fellows should be raised and regular attention to university matters insisted on.[71] These were the questions with regard to which provincial views were solicited. The remaining proposals of the commission were accepted by the government of India. The more important of these proposals were that the territorial limits of the universities should be re-defined, that no new universities were needed, that colleges should be provided with libraries and that the examination system should be reorganized and simplified.[72]

When the commission presented their report the government of India had no special adviser on educational matters with them. Raleigh and Hewett could not be expected to comment on the report because it was their own handiwork. The home member was no expert in educational matters and the director general of education was not yet conversant with the conditions and needs of education in India.[73] The burden of taking decisions fell on Curzon who offered observations on practically every suggestion made by the commission.[74] Curzon was thus personally responsible for the resolutions of the Educational Conference, for the minute which led to the appointment of the Universities Commission and was the chief inspiration of its report, and for the decisions taken

71. (a) *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902 (Calcutta, 1902), paras 33-43. (b) Resolutions of the Educational Conference. Simla, September 1901, numbers 1-16. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-61.

72. (a) *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902, (Calcutta, 1902), paras 27 and 29-31. (b) Resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901, numbers 27-40. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November* 1901, 47-61. (c) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 24 October 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1902, 67-78.

73. Among the first acts of government after the Educational Conference dispersed was to provide itself with an adviser on educational matters. It was a coincidence that Curzon and Raliegh had themselves long experience and interest in university education. But education had so far been looked after by home members who were often not educational experts. The first educational adviser to government of India, H. W. Orange, was appointed on 6 March 1902 and was designated the director general of education. Secretary of State to government of India, 14 March 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, April* 1902, 95-97.

74. Note by Curzon, 20 July 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1902, 67-78.

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in respect of higher education and the degree of government control over the universities. Curzon also realized, however, that inasmuch as the commission recommended "the purification of higher education of many of its anomalies and abuses", they would be "accused of shutting the door in the face of the poor native aspirant to culture and employment". But he had no hesitation in reaching the conclusion that many of the private aided colleges were imparting "cheap and nasty" education and that the standards of examinations were "disgracefully low". Indian enthusiasts had, in their anxiety to expand higher education, sacrificed quality to numbers. In his view matters had been allowed to drift so far since the Education Commission of 1882–83 that there remained "neither form nor system"; higher education would need to be rebuilt almost from the foundations.[75]

The provincial governments obediently accepted the views put before them by the government of India.[76] The governor general's council discussed the question twice and then entrusted the finalization of policy to a committee consisting of Curzon, Ibbetson, Raleigh and Arundel.[77] The deliberations of the committee issued in the formulation of the policy based largely on the reference to the provinces and embodied the final conclusions of government.

It was claimed that the government desired no break with the past but only the logical continuation of the policy pursued with modifications that experience of fifty years of higher education had shown to be necessary. The University of London by assuming teaching functions in 1900 had indicated the way to Indian universities which were professedly charted on its pattern. It was felt that higher education in India could only flourish under the fostering care and control of government. The chief reason for the enlargement of official control was that in its absence education was "passing into incompetent hands and deteriorating in every direction". In order to introduce and maintain a high standard of education government would have to exercise control. The extent of control

75. Curzon to Northbrook, 21 July 1902. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/182, 103.

76. Local governments and administrations to government of India. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1903, 67-86.

77. Note by Curzon, 2 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1903, 67-86.

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might vary in different cases but it was expected to be most in exercise in Bengal where the university had "fallen into the hands of a coterie of obscure native lawyers who regard educational questions from a political point of view and who offer no opposition to the prevalent tendency to lower the standard of University degree and to multiply colleges of an unsatisfactory type". The usual argument about the large size of the senates was stated and it was proposed to place a maximum limit of 100 for the senior universities and 75 for the new universities. In addition to these there might be *ex-officio* members not exceeding ten in number. The fellows would hold their position for five years and one fifth would retire every year so that the membership would be entirely renewed once in five years. But there would be no retirement during the first three years in the interests of continuity and stability needed for the introduction of the new scheme. One tenth of the fellows would be elected, in the senior universities by graduates and in the new universities by the sanates themselves. Some fellows might be elected to represent the faculties but the total number of elected fellows would not exceed one fifth of the membership at any time. The syndicate would consist of the vice-chancellor as chairman and the director of public instruction and nine to fifteen other fellows elected by the senate from among its own members. The syndics would be elected for two years only. Affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges would be recommended by the universities to the government in whom the power of decision would vest. In the concurrent matter of the recognition of schools the power of decision would vest in the universities instead of the educational departments. Recognition would be governed by rules framed by the syndicates with the approval of government. The conditions for the affiliation of colleges and recognition of schools were those recommended by the Universities Commission. All remaining matters would be dealt with by regulation. Among these the most important was that relating to the courses of teaching.[78] The secretary of state accepted the scheme in its entirety.[79]

78. Government of India to secretary of state, 3 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1903, 67-86. *Cf.* Government of India to local governments and administrations 24 October 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1902, 67-78.

79. Telegram, secretary of state to viceroy, 28 October 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December* 1903, 67-86.

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Indian opposition to the proposed changes was expressed by Gokhale in the legislative council when the Universities Bill was referred to a select committee.[80] He charged that the government had no desire to consult Indian opinion and would only take counsel with Europeans. He cited the composition of the Educational Conference and the Universities Commission: the former had no Indian on it while the latter had no representative of indigenous educational enterprise. In his view the principal reason for the new measure was, in Raleigh's words, "the great army of failed candidates and discontented B.As.". He said: "The truth is that this so called discontent is no more than a natural feeling of disaffection with things as they are, when you have on one side a large and steadily growing educated class of the children of the soil, and on the other a close and jealously guarded monopoly of political power and high administrative office.... I think it is in the power of Government to convert these discontented B.As. from cold critics into active allies by associating them more and more with the administration of the country, and by making its tone more friendly to them and its tendencies more liberal." He conceded that the existing methods of teaching and examination cried aloud for reform but this would not be brought about by the Bill which would only "increase enormously the control of Government over University matters and make the University virtually a Department of the State". He thought that under the new powers of government very little freedom or dignity would be left to the senates. The preponderance of the academic element in the university bodies was understandable but by the proposed changes the government was only seeking to amplify official control.[81]

Curzon attempted to defend the Educational Conference as a purely official consultation with educational experts before framing measures of reform. As to the Universities Commission he

80. The Bill had been earlier introduced on 4 November 1903. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1903, volume xlii (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 262-275.

81. Gokhale's speech, 18 December 1903. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1903. volume xlii, (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 305-313.

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asserted that no commission could fully satisfy everybody because provinces, interests, classes and creeds had to be represented. But the arguments were unconvincing because Indians had from the start been insufficiently consulted.[82] He was on surer ground when he said that the object of the new policy was "to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education....to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges which constitute our University system to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the government of the Universities in competent, expert and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to elected Fellows who are now only appointed on sufferance ... to show the way by which our Universities, which are now merely examining Bodies, can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions; in fact, to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham."[83]

In the final debate on the Bill, Gokhale divided it into three parts relating to the expansion of the functions of the universities, the reconstitution of the university bodies and the control of the affiliated colleges. Ample powers of control over colleges already existed, as the new regulations framed by the University of Madras showed, and the universities were not likely to assume teaching functions in the near future. The Bill had, therefore, to be justified chiefly for the reform of the composition and control of the university bodies. He charged that the government was only trying to place the university bodies in the hands of Europeans under the camouflage of making and keeping them academic. He asserted that more academic senates would not lead to better teaching. That could only be brought about by "better men, more money and improved material", and even then the progress would be slow. He did not concede that the control of universities should be in expert hands as in other countries, because of special political

82. S. Gopal, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

83. Curzon's speech, 18 December 1903. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1903, volume xlii (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 317-32[illegible]

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and administrative conditions in India. In his view the government must allow educated Indians a strong voice in the direction of university matters and since the Bill attempted to reduce Indian participation it was a retrograde and reactionary measure.[84]

Gokhale did not appreciate that the government was arming itself with unceasing powers of supervision, vigilance and control over university bodies because it was about to make itself responsible for preserving their academic composition. This involved the transfer of control from Indians to Europeans but that was Curzon's deliberate decision, because the object of the British government was to impart higher education under a system which was inherently European; the control of the universities had to be in European rather than Indian hands. The Bill was passed on 21 March 1904 and became law three days later as the Indian Universities Act VIII of 1904.

The policy in respect of the composition of the new senates and syndicates had been pre-decided. Curzon, as chancellor of the University of Calcutta, addressed the chancellors of other universities outlining the method he was going to follow at Calcutta. The requirement was that the senates should be competent to produce suitable regulations. The fellows should have the competence to form an opinion on university questions and possess soundness on the subject of educational reform, that is, they should acknowledge that reforms were needed and cooperate with the government in carrying out its general policy. They should also be able and willing to give regular attention to university work. The government should have a working majority in its favour although this majority could only be narrow. Only those persons should be nominated who would devote themselves entirely to the "great educational reform", specially during the first months when the senates and their committees would be engaged in framing regulations.[85]

84. Gokhale's speech, 18 March 1904. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations,* 1904, volume xliii (Calcutta, 1905), pp. 119-126.

85. Demi-officials, Curzon to Ampthill, Lamington, Rivaz and LaTouche, 27 April 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, September* 1904, 27-40.

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In the case of the University of Calcutta the existing senate elected five fellows and the graduates elected five others. The chancellor nominated 64 fellows and assigned the 74 to various faculties to elect ten fellows to represent the faculties. With these 84 and the chancellor, the rector, the vice-chancellor and six other *ex-officio* fellows the new senate was declared to have been duly constituted. Subsequently seven more fellows were nominated, bringing the total to 100, including nine *ex-officio* fellows. The chancellor then directed the appointment by the new senate of a provisional syndicate which was accordingly appointed on 17 December 1904. The other chancellors followed the same or a similar course but in Bombay the validity of orders to elect fellows by faculties was challenged in court because the orders had the effect of altering the electorate. To place the law beyond doubt the government of India enacted the Indian Universities (Validation) Act on 10 February 1905 regularizing all action taken under the Act of 1904.

The government had power under the Act of 1904 to add to or alter the regulations submitted for its sanction. But the government had also given a pledge that this power would not be used merely to introduce a general uniformity of system or to override the universities in minor matters. It was emphasized that the action of government would be so regulated as to give no ground for a charge that the pledge had been disregarded. It was decided that the existing colleges should be inspected within a specified period and provision made for recurring regular inspection afterwards to ensure that they conformed to the conditions of affiliation. Likewise the conditions for the recognition of schools were also laid down. In respect of courses of teaching the chancellors would be guided by the recommendations of the Universities Commission, but uniformity was not considered advisable. Textbooks would be prescribed with the approval of the government The appointment of professors and lecturers in universities would remain subject to the control of government. These, generally, were the principles that would underlie the new regulations to be framed by the reformed senates.[86]

86. Demi-officials, Curzon to Fraser, Ampthill, Lamington, Rivaz and LaTouche, 26 January 1905. *Home Department, Education Deposit Proceedings, January* 1905, 20-21.

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The policy pursued by government in respect of higher education points to the conclusion that higher education would pass under the all pervasive umbrella of official direction. As one of the principal factors determining the thinking of the intellectually advanced section of the society higher education was brought under the control of government in order that the thinking of the people might be stressed on a course which should not be inimical to the stability of British power in India. The idea of official control was new in Curzon's time but subsequent progress of higher education and the degree of control exercised in modern times by official bodies over university action shows that it was a step in the right direction.[87] Curzon's thinking on university education was sound but far in advance of the times.

87. *Cf.* B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* (London, 1961), pp. 281, 293.

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Chandragupta and His Successors*

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI

The history of the Mauryas is of perennial interest because it is they who for the first time unified India and warded off the first great invasion of the country by Alexander the Great. In fact it is this event that gives us the peg to hang the chronology of India, since the date of the invasion is an accepted one. Still a few important points have yet to be settled to make the history of the Mauryas acceptable and understandable.

Chandragupta (324–300 *B.C.*)

It is my view that Chandragupta's very origin is not put beyond doubt in spite of patient and laborious researches so far made; and unless we can know this the great power and influence that he brought to bear on the great task of establishing an empire will remain unexplained. The Puranic account of his low birth and enmity with the Nandas which made him an exile for some time must be given up. Indeed a thick veil has been made to cover the origin and early history of Chandragupta Maurya by legends, dramas and Puranic accounts which, though they may not have intended it, have covered with mist the early history of the Mauryas and the veil extends its shadow to his successors.

It is stated that Chandragupta in his early years served the Nandas as a senapati and subsequently fled Magadha having incurred the displeasure of the Nanda king.[1] We have no proof for all this and it is surprising how these have become accepted facts. We know only this, that Chandragupta was in Gandhara.

It is stated in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogei*, XV, 4: which McCrindle translates as follows:

*A posthumous article.

1. See Sastri K. A. N., *History of India*, Part I, p. 63.

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"(Seleucus) waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom. He was born in humble life but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,[2] and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight."

In the footnote it is stated as follows: "Instead of the accusative Nandurm the older editions read Alexandrum; which means that he had offended Alexander the Great."

Why do we find Chandragupta in the province of Gandhara in the Punjab before he comes to rule in Magadha, especially since Gandhara was never the province of the Nandas at any time. It was, as history reveals itself, a Persian Satrapy at the time we find Chandragupta there. Xenophen says that Cyrus imposed his sway on the Bacterians and the Indians. Darius I (522–486 B.C.) the great conqueror of Greece, carried the Persian dominion into Gandhara and even into the valley of the Indus, thus making the way for Alexander the Great when he came nearly one hundred and fifty years afterwards. It appears possible that Chandragupta or Sandrocottus, as the Romans called him, and his family had lived in the Persian Satrapy of Gandhara from early times and that explains his meeting Alexander while yet young and even before he entered into India.

There is doubt in the very name given to Chandragupta Maurya, which is made to wear an Indian look. There are many accounts relating to the ancestry of this king not one of which is

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I., *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, pp. xxxiii & xxxiv.

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reliable. The oft-referred to account of the drama *Mudrarakshasa*, for example, derives the name 'Maurya' from the name 'mura' "the concubine of the last Nanda king", as Prof. Sastri states in his book *Early History of India*.[3] Now such explanations for the name of a great family of kings should not be accepted especially when evidence is sadly lacking. Roman historians of an earlier date call him only Sandrocottus, as for example, when Justin speaks as follows:

> *"Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate*
> *qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat."*[4]

Was then Chandragupta a Persian? Though it is cutting a new and perhaps strange ground it seems necessary to answer this question in the affirmative. Dr. Spooner in an article entitled *The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* had made such an affirmation as early as 1915, but he went unnoticed. An enquiry into the true origin of the founder of the Mauryas again brings us to the same conclusion. Archaeological explorations that have helped to bring to light remnants of Asoka's palace at Pataliputra likewise lend support to this view. While the pillars of the edifice are traced to Greek and Persian influence, the Sarnath Lion capital, that functions as the symbol of the Indian Government to-day as drawn from Asoka, is unmistakably Persian. The Mauryan bell-shaped capitals and the smooth enfluted shafts as also the scheme of inscribing on stone first initiated by Asoka in India is again Persian in origin.

Sir John Marshall says in his *Excavations of Taxila* that the very term *Priyadarsin means Governor or satrap* in Persian terminology. We know that Asoka bore this name in certain of his inscriptions. His grandfather Chandragupta used the form *Priyadarsana*, which was just a variant of *Priyadarsin*.[5] These are evidence to show that Chandragupta was a Persian Satrap to start with. We also know that he had occupied the richest satrapy of the Persians at the time of Alexander's invasion since Taxila

3. Sastri K. A. N., *History of India*, Part I, p. 62.
4. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicorum*, Vol. I, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. xxxiii.
5. Sir John Marshall, *Excavations of Taxila*, Vol. I. p. 15.

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formed the centre of that province[6] full of Persian remains of sculpture and architecture besides manners and customs. The early type of punch-marked silver coinage found only in this part of India was struck in Persian style in Taxila. "In the Gandhara school we are met at every turn by architectural and sculptural elements'[7], says Marshall "which are obviously traceable to a Persian origin".[7] The distinctively Persian custom of exposing the dead to vultures was also prevalent in this area from very early times. The temple of Jandiol is one of the most interesting monuments unearthed at Taxila. On this Sir John Marshall has the following remarks to offer:[8] "My own view is that this tower was in the nature of Zikurrat, tapering like a pyramid and ascended in the same way as the Zikurrats of Mesopotamia, and I conclude from its presence, as well as from the entire absence of images that the temple was probably Zoroastrian. If this was so, the fire altar may have stood on the summit of the tower."

"The career of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, sheds lustre on the history of ancient India, for to him belongs the credit of freeing this country from the Macedonian yoke and securing, for the first time, the political unification of the greater part of India under one scepture."[9]

"The Pali work *Mahavamsatika* describes how both Chanakya and Chandragupta set out for collecting recruits (*balam*) from different places until they were made into a large army (*mahabala-kayam*). Justin describes these recruits by a term which may mean 'robbers' or mercenaries; he evidently means the republican peoples of the Punjab."[10]

"The *Mudrarakshasa* as well as the Jain work *Parisishtaparvan* refers to Chandragupta's alliance with the Himalayan king Parvataka."[11]

With these troops he puts the Governors of Alexander to death and instals himself king of Punjab, and Gandhara, between 325-323

6. *Herodotes* Vol. III. p. 94.
7. Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
9. *History and Culture of Indian people*, Vol. II, p..54.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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B.C. Chandragupta's next task was to rid the country of the internal tyranny of king Nanda. With the help and advise of Chanakya he occupies Pataliputra. While Chandragupta was busy laying the foundations of his empire in India, the Greek king Seleucus who had succeeded Alexander in the eastern part of his empire, was moving towards India to recover the lost possessions of the late emperor in 305 B.C. Chandragupta foiled his attempt and the endeavour of the Greek ended with his ceding the four provinces, Aria, Arachosia, Paropanisadai and Gedrosia belonging to him to Chandragupta in return for five hundred trained war elephants from India.

A closer examination of this later event must reveal two things. There seems to have been something in these provinces which made Seleucus think of ceding them and likewise something in them acceptable to Chandragupta as even the awe-inspiring elephants were pleasing to Seleucus as a gift. That something in these provinces were their Persian character; for it must be obvious that these provinces were within the folds of the Persian empire before the Greek invasion of Alexander and the people who lived there must have been Persian by a large majority. The ancient geographer, Eratosthenes, tells us that all these provinces were of Achemenid empire from which Alexander took them and made them into four separate provinces. Among them Parapanisadai included Gandhara also.[12] Prof. W. W. Tarn in his book *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, which quotes this passage of Eratosthenes, however gives the cause for the ceding of the provinces as the "predominant Indian blood" found in them: "It was these which Seleucus ceded".[13] This is not right and it obviously militates against his prior statement in his book referred to above that they had belonged for a long time to the Persian empire and we know definitely that they had become parts of the Persian empire from the time of Darius I if not earlier.

Chandragupta's acceptance of these Persian Satrapies can be explained only when we understand his Persian Origin. Doubtless he received the ceded provinces with full approval and even with

12. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 1000 where Eratosthenes is quoted.
13. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

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great joy in spite of the fact that they were far away from Magadha and may possibly be a source of unwanted trouble for a man ruling from Pataliputra. As it was, however the offer was accepted and no trouble is recorded for Chandragupta ever afterwards from these ceded provinces. In the same way there is no doubt that the Greek equally appreciated the elephant gift made by the Mauryan king. Seleucus and even Ptolemy I struck the figure of Alexander on their coins with the elephant scalp and even Demetrius much later represented himself on his coins in the same mode. It was considered by them as a symbol of power. Demetrius, we know, even used the scalp as a headgear.

Chandragupta or Sandrocottus, as the Greeks called him, was thus an Indianised Persian Satrap, who established the first Great Indian Empire in Pataliputra. He had the assistance of the great political expert Chanakya, a brahmin of Punjab and a council of Ministers and two popular assemblies the *Paura* and the *Janapada*. He had established his empire on his power and popular support. He also maintained a well sized army of 600,000 as Plutarch and Justin tell us. On the administration of this army Magasthenes throws light when he tells us that it was systematically managed by a war office of 30 members divided equally into six Boards, controlling the infantry, cavalry, the chariots and the Elephant corps, the admiralty and transport.

Following the Persian system he divided his unwieldy empire into Provinces ruled by Governors and Viceroys. Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian and most certainly Megasthenes leave us in no doubt with regard to provincial administration of the period. The capital of the empire was at Pataliputra at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and the Son not far from Modern Patna.

Bindusara (300–273 B.C.)

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara, described as the "devourer of foes" (amitraghada), who had extended his kingdom from the eastern seas to the western seas. The name Bindusara is itself a puranic name. It was the Greeks who first called him as 'allitrochades' and 'Amtrochatos', which has been rendered into Sanskrit as 'Amitraghata' and 'Amitrakanda' a slayer of foes. This is proof of his valiance exhibited in the territory of the

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Greeks themselves at the frontier of India. That he had close connections with them is seen in the continuance of their ambassodars at Pataliputra where Megasthenes was succeeded by Deimachus. Pliny tells us that Ptolemy II Philadelphus king of Egypt (285–247 B.C.) sent an ambassador to the court of Pataliputra by name Dionysius. We also know that Bindusara was in terms of great intimacy with Antiochus I Sotar, the Syrian king from whom he would apparently get figs and sweet wine from time to time.

That Bindusara had other children besides Asoka is obvious for example, from the V Rock Edict, Kalsi where Asoka refers to them with fraternal interest:[14]

I. Mahamatras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

II. They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of our brothers of (our) sisters and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

Asoka, the Great (273–236 B.C.)

Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka, who was Viceroy at Taxila, to the great Mauryan empire. Everyone knows that even in the reign of this good emperor there came a war, generally called the Kalinga war. But the slaughter and sufferings of the people consequent on this moved him so deeply that it marked a turning point in his career in that it made the king a lay worshipper (upāsaka). His Kalsi edict XIII speaks of this in great detail:[15]

(A) When king Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed eight years (the country of) the Kalingyas was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand

14. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. 33.
15. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. 47.

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in number were those who were slain there, and many times those who died.

(C) After that now that (the country of) the Kalingyas has been taken, Devanampriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

* * * *

(D) For this is considered as very painful and deplorable by Devanampriya, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

* * * *

(E) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were deported at that time when (the country of) Kalingyas was taken (would) now be considered very deplorable by Devanampriya.

What was the nature of the great Kalinga war, the results of which had given much remorse to this great emperor? Was it only a war against the Kalinga, the modern (Orissa), or was it arraigned against a larger area. Though this question has not so far disturbed scholars, it is nevertheless a very important issue that needs to be settled. The Kalinga country here mentioned seems to have been the old Kalinga referred to by Pliny, the Greek writer, who borrows from Megasthenes. Pliny distinguishes three Kalingas, the Macco–Galingoe, Gongaridas Calingoe and the Calingoes. The Kalinga war seems to have embraced all the three.[16] It is in this background that the use of the term Kalingas, in plural in the thirteenth Khalsi edict is to be understood. The edict begins thus:

(C) After that, now that (the country of the Kalingyas has been taken, Devanampriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality."[17]

16. Mehtab: *History of Orissa*, p. 6.
17. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. 47.

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Besides, unless we consider that the Kalinga war was really of large dimension we cannot understand the thousands of maimed ones, dead and those carried as captives to which this same stone record clearly refers. And then there is the change of mind brought on the conqueror by the war which gives us an unmistakable indication of its magnitude. Asoka himself tells us that this was his first and last war. If he had not waged it over a large area, as we contend, we cannot also explain his great conquests, since all of them must have been made only in this one war.

We must now try to identify "the three Kalingyas", as Pliny calls them. Macco Calingoes must have comprised the Andhra country from Bhuvanesvar extending southwards as far as Masulipatnam (the Maisolos of Ptolemy which is the same as the Macco of Pliny). Gongarides Calingoe refers to the region further down comprising modern Telingana extending as far as Mysore, the region of the Gangas. The Calingoes must have been the people further south going down as far as Ceylon. The dominion of the ancient Colas and Pandyas did indeed extend up to that island and the region of the Tamraparni mentioned in Khalsi Elict is in fact Ceylon, the Taprobane of the Greeks. This identification is strengthened by the statement of Pliny that the people who occupied the first two regions were separate and were different from the Calingoes. "The Macco-Calingoe and the Gongaridas—Calingoe are separate people from the Calingoes."[18] The Malaya and Indonesians call Indians as Kelingas even to-day. Further, in Sanskrit it is stated *no Kalingas—Jagama* "I never went to the Kalingas" is cited as an example of the past perfect in the first person as a grammatical rule in case of an emphatic denial.[19]

The modern state of Orissa and the northern part of Andhra, supposed to contain the whole of Kalinga, are even to-day covered in a large portion by forests and not thickly populated. Two

18. Mehtab, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

19. Patanjali, *Mahabhasya on Panini*, III. 2. 115.

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thousand years back the position must have been much worse. The question naturally arises is from where so many as indicated by the Khalsi record came to war with Asoka, unless we surmise that the 'Kalingyas' referred to here were a larger areas than mere Orissa and a part of Andhra.

Certain references to the 'Moriyar' invasion of the Tamil country have been pointed out by scholars now for some time in the poem of the Sangam age. In these we are told that it reached down to the Pothiyal hills in the South. The term *"vamba Moriyar"* is used in these poems, possibly to refer to the strength of the foes. Clearly the reference here is to the Asoka invasion of the Tamil country during the Kalinga war, since neither his father nor his grandfather ever conquered this region or even made an invasion of it. Besides he alone among all the Mauryan rulers refers to the Colas and Pandyas of the South as he does also to the Andhras and the Pulindas.

On the other hand, after the Kalinga war we find Asoka touring the southern districts. He has come to Suvarnagiri in Mysore from Maski. In the present day Suvarnagiri comprises about 3 or 4 villages, Siddhapur, Devasumadi, Roopa, Virupapura. Elderly people in Siddapur and Maski keep alive the tradition of Asoka's visit to these places to this day. Dr. Fleet, a sufficiently high authority in these matters, indeed states that the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarnagiri by Asoka, though he identifies the place wrongly in Bihar.[20] Besides the modern village of Siddapur is only about two kilometers from the rock edict of Brahmagiri at the foot of which lies the ruined city of Suvarnagiri and about eight kilometer from Chitaldrug, a railway station in Mysore state. The Brahmagiri inscription is engraved on a boulder of the Brahmagiri hill. This is a second Asokan inscription in the region only about one kilometer from the first and close to Siddapur village. There is also a third inscription on the western summit of the Jatinga Rameswara hill which is about five kilometers from the Brahmagiri hill. The close proximity of these records is indeed noteworthy.

20. Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909.

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The Brahmagiri rock inscription has the following passage:

(A) "From Suvarnagiri at the word of the prince (Arya-putra) and of the Mahamatras, the Mahamatras at Isila must be wished good health and be told this:

(B) Devanampriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am) a lay-worshipper (upasaka).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (have passed) since I have visited the Samgha and have been very zealous. (These foreign countries will be identified later).

(F) But men in Jambudvipa, being during that time unmingled (are now) mingled with the gods.

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.[21]

These excerpts from the Brahmagiri inscriptions clearly bear out the following points. The King had become an upasaka immediately after the Kalinga war and had begun the work of touring, and preaching morality. The record clearly states that already by that time two hundred and fifty-six nights have been spent on tour. Was he preaching by the day and touring during the night? The first two inscriptions about the Brahmagiri region, to which reference has been made, also refer to Asoka being on tour. Having stayed for sometime at Suvarnagiri, Asoka went to the neighbouring village of Jaunagiri, where a Minor rock edict exists to this day. The rock edict generally called the Erragudi minor rock edict[22] speaks again in the manner of the Suvarnagiri

21. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka* p. 177. This idea is explained again in Maski edict "The object can be reached even by a lowly person who is devoted to morality." (*op. cit.*, 175).

22. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, pt. I.

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inscription about the comparative lassitude of the king for sometime after he became an upasaka and of the active life into which he had just entered. The idea of the king having been on tour is also emphasised: "This proclamation is being issued by me (when I have been) on tour (for) 256 days."[23]

Dr. D. C. Sircar, the editor of the inscriptions, refers to the haste of the inscriber and the irregularities he has committed which must be explained by the fact that the king was on tour. The name of the scribe is not mentioned for the same reason; he must have been the same Chapada of the Brahmagiri record. The similarities between the styles of two records and the general Mysore style of both again bear out the same conclusion.

The royal tour referred to in Asokan inscriptions has not been sufficiently emphasised by scholars. And yet this is really a unique thing for an emperor to go about personally preaching morality through the length and breadth of the then known world. Thomas, commenting on the Sahasram rock inscription compares the word 'virutha' occurring in that record with 'vyushtam', which is a division of time 'and Hultzsch agreeing with Thomas says that in Asoka's time both Vivytha' and vivasa' apparently meant a "civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twentyfour hours from headquarters."[24] Asoka might have gone from Jaunagiri to Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Undavalli, Kanchipura and hence to Kaveripatnam, Cola and Pandyan countries and to Ceylon.

Asoka's personal mission to Ceylon has not been suspected so far: nevertheless such seems to be the truth. The mention in *Mahavamsa* of the *visit of Prince Vijaya* to Ceylon must refer only to Asoka's visit and not to that of some unidentifiable person. The Brahmagiri rock inscriptions state as follows:

(A) From Suvarnagiri, at the word of the prince (Aryaputra) and of the Mahamatras, the Mahamatras at Isila must be wished good health and be told this:

(B) Devanampriya commands (as follows).[25]

23. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII.
24. Hultzsch; *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 171.
25. Hultzsch; *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 177.

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This clearly indicates that Asoka was called a Prince prior to his departure to Ceylon since he is mentioned in the Mahavamsa as Prince Vijaya, the conqueror.

The Mahavamsa, while describing the rulers of Pataliputra, indeed refers to Asoka as the conqueror (prince Vijaya) and says, "this conqueror became sovereign king over the whole Jambudvipa"[26] Further the same chronicle says that the island became Buddhist in the reign of Devanampriya Tissa. This person has not yet been identified. Tissa is obviously the head of the Buddhist sangha who in fact convoked the third Buddhist council in Asoka's time and Devanampriya was Asoka himself. It therefore follows that Asoka himself went down to Ceylon and the Mahavamsa interpreted the whole event by saying incorrectly that Ceylon became Buddhist in the reign of Devanampriya Tissa. There was nothing but tribal rule in Ceylon at this time. This statement is just on a par with another of the Chronicle when it says that a son and daughter of Asoka came to Ceylon evangelising that island. This is obviously wrong, though not suspected till now, since at the time which the Chronicle refers Asoka could not have a son or a daughter so grown up as to lead a religious mission to a foreign land. It must be held that a monk and a nun of the Buddhist order had been sent to that island after the visit of Asoka. Not without reason does Vincent Smith aver in his book on Asoka that the stories connected with "the conversion of Ceylon by the king's son and daughter is a tissue of absurdities."[27]

Asoka's stay in Suvarnagiri has left monuments of military garrisons which can still be seen in ruins in and around that place. His arrival at Amravati and Nagarjunakonda can be established by fragments of his inscriptions discovered in these places. The rock cut Buddhist caves at Undavalli testify to his presence in these places. His stay is Kanchipura can be equally evidenced by the statue of Buddha found in the Madras Museum. This has been recovered from that place and belongs to the time of Asoka. Its face, ear lobes and the tasal over the shoulder as well as the crowned head clearly indicate the period of the statue. It is of

26. *Mahavamsa* (Geiger), p. 44 ff.
27. Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi. where Smith is also quoted.

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the same type as the Buddha statue at Amravati. For long Kanchipura remained the central hearth of Buddhism in the south of India till as late as Hiuen-tsang's visit; and the Chinese pilgrim indeed states that he saw there stupas built by Asoka.[28] From Kanchipura he went to Kaveripatnam where Buddhist relics and remains of Buddhist monasteries were recently excavated and to Cola and Pandya countries situated on the banks of the rivers Kaveri and Tamraparni. No inscriptions were recorded as the cities and villages were on the plains, ruins of which can be seen even to-day.

Poet Mamulanar speaks of the division of the Mauryan army helping the Kosar against the chieftain of Mohur, which implies that even a Mauryan garrison had been left behind in south India by Asoka, because the event referred to here need not be confined to the date of Mamulanar but may even be earlier. The department of Archaeology in Kerala has referred to a find of ancient punch-marked coins found in Eyyal Village of Talapalli taluk of the district of Trichur the dates of which are supposed to range from Pre-Mauryan times. But in the entire hoard only four seem to belong to Pre-Mauryan times, while twenty-six belong to Mauryan times, which clearly indicates that the north-south connections in India which was negligible at first, suddenly rose to importance in Mauryan times.[29]

After his return to the capital from the southern tour he ruled his kingdom. The villar Edict of Delhi Topra,[30] which is the longest of Asoka's Pillar edicts must have been issued almost as last will and testament of the dying emperor, as Dr. Sen would imply. He says tradition records that Asoka died at Taxila which may mean either the city or the province. It may therefore be surmised that shortly after the engraving of this edict on the Delhi Topra pillar Asoka died. He thus established the Law of piety all over his vast empire and died in 236 B.C. universally beloved, one of the greatest kings of India.

28. D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, p. 140.

29. "Numismatic finds and Kerala Trade" (*The Hindu*, dated 20—12—1964 p. 16) reads as follows: "The Punch marked coins have been classified into three groups; mainly pre-Mauryan and post Mauryan. The general conception is that the early pre-Mauryan coins are thin, broad circular or eliptical or of irregular geometric shape."

30. A. C. Sen, *Edicts of Asoka*, p. 143.

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The Immediate Successors of Asoka

The reconstructions of the history after Asoka bristles with difficulties. This is made worse by late traditions, which ascribe the succession to various persons like Samprati, Jaloka, Salisuka and Virasena. The only person, however, about whom we have reliable evidence here is Subhagasena[31] about whom the Greek accounts speak. There is a contemporary reference to him in the account of Antiochus the great who is mentioned as making a treaty with him "thus renewing the ancestral friendship" in 206 B.C. gaining some elephants for his army thereby. This is reliable because of the circumstance in which Asoka died at Taxila. A Greek invasion was expected at that time and the reference is to what is narrated in the Greek account. Antiochus the Greek made an attempt to invade India and having failed in it entered into a peace treaty with Subhagasena. Who was this Subhagasena? He is the grandson of Asoka having in view the interval that passed between the death of Asoka and the date of this treaty. We also know that Asoka's son Kunala was at Taxila at the time of Asoka's death and this Subhagasena was Kunala's son succeeding the father at Taxila as emperor. The Puranas mention Samprati as one of the successors of Asoka, while the editor of the Hathigumpha inscription following the evidence of *Divyavadana* equates, Samprati with a grandson of Asoka, "yuva-raja while his father Kunala was viceroy at Takshasila."[32] Prof. K. A. N. Sastri also makes Samprati the son of Kunala and grand-son of Asoka.[33] Thus it would appear that Samprati was the same as Subhagasena. Now, the puranas place Salisuka after Samprati and he seems to have been the son of Samprati. Taking the death of Asoka as in 237 B.C. the dates of his successors, so far known, can be roughly fixed as follows:

Kunala (237—227 B.C.)[34]
Samprati (227—202 B.C.)
Salisuka (202—177 B.C.)

31. The Greek accounts call him Sophagasenas (see Tarn: *op. cit.* 103).
32. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX.
33. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
34. Kunala was of an advanced age when Asoka died since he was Viceroy for many years even in Asoka's time.

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The Greek accounts throw some welcome light on this point. Demetrius, the invincible, son of Euthydemus of Bacteria made an invasion of India. This man, whose figure on the coin wears the elephant scalp, wanted to be a second Alexander. Bouyed up by an insatiable lust for conquest he crossed 'the Hindukush about 187 B.C.[35] He marched gradually into India and to Pataliputra after settling his conquests as he went. He founded the city of Sagala (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab, which he called Euthydemia in memory of his father, conquered the Rajaputna, besieged Saketa and then went to Pataliputra, which Strabo calls Palibothra. It is clear that the Demetrian invasion took place when Salisuka was on the throne at Taxila. The long drawn-out invasion progressed even into the reign of his successor.

Kharavela of Kalinga

The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela gives us an unexpected information with regard to the Demetrian invasion of Pataliputra when it says that Kharavela who had undergone an extensive training at Gandhara[36] was a yuvaraja during that period. This must have been during the later part of Salisuka's reign and Kharavela seems to be none other than the son of Salisuka. It also seems certain that when Demetrius' invasion had reached Pataliputra Kharavela himself had succeeded to the Mauryan throne and young Kharavela evacuated Taxilla and moved east to meet the Greek invader. Pataliputra being inaccessible to him apparently at that time owing to its prior occupation by Demetrius Kharavela seems to have moved further east towards modern Orissa.

The Hathigumpa inscription[37] is found in the Udayagiri hills about ten kilometers from Bhuvaneswar, the modern capital of Orissa. The record engraved obviously in Kharavela's own life time (see the king's salutation mentioned in line I in right Asoka style) is written in box type script, is in Prakrit and bears the

35. K. A. N. Sastri: *History of India*, part I, p. 106.

36. See line 5 of the inscription. The reference here is either to the "sciences of Gandharas", or to music. The former however appears to be more apt in this connection.

37. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 87-88.

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Swastika symbol which is Aryan. It must be remembered that in his Siddapur inscription Asoka calls himself Aryaputra and that the two edicts of Jaugada also bear the Swastika. Kharavela clearly says in his salutation "by illustrious Kharavela, the Aira the great king, the descendant of Maghamekhavahana, the increaser (of the glory) of the Cheti (Chedi) dynasty, (endowed) with excellent and auspicious marks and features possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) the four quarters, overlord of Kalinga." Now, this very line leads to two serious difficulties in identifying Kharavela as a Mauryan king. The first comes from the mention of the Cheti dynasty to which Kharavela is said to belong and the second from his being mentioned as the overlord of Kalinga. Dr. N. Mahtab in his book *History of Orissa* mentions a tradition that Asoka renamed Kalinga (Orissa) as the kingdom of the Cheti after his conquest of the region by him.[38] The kings who ruled over it after Asoka were naturally called kings of the Cheti dynasty. Nothing stands in the way of their being the descendents of Asoka. The designation "Overlord of Kalinga taken by Kharavela" is a more apt description of him. Why does not Kharavela call himself the descendant of Asoka especially in an inscription which is so descriptive as the Hathigumpa? Because he occupied the kingdom of Kalinga only and not the whole kingdom of Asoka and from inborn modesty it is possible that Kharavela does not call himself a descendant of Asoka just as the inheritor of Ujjain, Devanampriya Dasaratha, does not call himself too.

In line 8 the inscription speaks about Kharavela's encounter with Demetrius, 'causes pressure on Rajagraha (Rajagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimi(ta) retreated to Mathura having extricated his demoralised army and transport .... (he) gives .... with foliage."[39] The Greek king's defeat is unmistakably alluded to here, as the stone record of Hathigumpa graphically narrates, "and with great difficulty gathered together whatever could be gathered of his army and disappeared." The *Yuga Purana* section of the *Gargi-Samhita* contains in section 5 a vivid account

38. Mehtab: *op. cit.*, p. 21.
39. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX.

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of the battle between Demetrius and Kharavela in Pataliputra "on the mud-embedded western ramparts with engines (ballistics and catapults)".

Line 11 of the record runs as follows: "And the marked town .... Pithumda founded by the Ava king he ploughs down with a plough of asses; and (he) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy of the T(R) amira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years which has been a source of danger to (his) country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the utarapatha with ..... thousands of ....." This refers to the southward march of the king Kharavela through the Andhra country to which the mention of the name Pithumda points (Ptolemy places it on the Krishna doab). What follows is clearer still since the term Dramira confederation can only refer to that of the great Tamil powers of the period. The Sangam works, some of the poems of which may even refer to this period, do mention the great enmity between these powers and the northern kings. The reference in *Silappadikaram* to the Cera king's northern expedition marks his route only through the Andhra and Orissa countries. We have seen that Asoka had made the Tamil kingdoms his border Kingdoms after the Kalinga war. Now, after Asoka's death they had perhaps regained their independence and that would explain Kharavela's expedition to the south.

Line 12 runs as follows: "And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (he) drives (his) elephants into the Sugamgiya (Palace) and (he) makes the King of Magadha Bahasatmita, bow at his feet ..... and causes to be brought home the riches of Anga and Magadha along with the keepers of the family jewels of ....." Bahasatmita is none other than Pushyamitra Sunga, the Commander-in-chief of the Asokan empire. It would appear that after the defeat of Demetrius Kharavela had gone on a southern expedition when Pushyamitra Sunga occupied Pataliputra. The general view among historians that he exterminated the Maurya is to be understood in a very restricted way especially in the light of these circumstances. Kharavela was the great grandson of Asoka (as has been mentioned earlier) who did not allow Pushyamitra to take possession of Pataliputra. Far from exterminating the Mauryas, Pushyamitra was himself defea-

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ted in the attempt at the hands of Kharavela. Reference is made in this line to Kharavela bringing with him to Kalinga, the riches of Amga and Magadha, as well as the "Keepers of the family jewels" evidently to Asoka. This indicates more than a mere defeat of Pushyamitra.

In line 13 it is said that he built "excellent towers" with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons giving them exemption from the land revenue. The truth of the passage is seen from the masonry art still to be seen in Bhuvaneswar museum. He is also said to have brought there jewels and rubies "Numerous pearls in hundreds he causes to be brought here from the Pandya king." The reference to the pearls brought from the Pandya king, confirms beyond doubt Kharavela's conquest of the south. In line 16 of this inscription we find mention of the king's setting up "four columns inland with beryl" a precious stone that, was obtained only in the Kongu of the south in the region of the modern districts of Coimbatore.[40] This taken together with the above reference to the pearls indicate the close connection that must have existed between Kharavela and the south in the II century B.C. to which the inscription refers.

Mr. B. B. Lal in an article contributed to the Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India[41] says that the fort of Sisupalgarh located about two kilometers from the town of Bhuvaneswar was built either during the time of Asoka or that of Kharavela. But on his own showing Kharavela did have a hand in it, since excavations at the spot have revealed "a collapse and subsequent repair" of the southern gateway to which reference is made in the Hathigumpha record.[42] Hence the conclusion of Mr. Lal, "Excavations revealed that the site was occupied from the beginning of the third century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The defences were erected at the beginning of the second century B.C."[43] This confirms that Kharavela on his arrival from Taxila strengthened the fortress of Sisupalgarh and established himself.

40. Arokiaswami, *Kongu country*, p. 75.
41. Edited by the Director-General of Archaeology in India, No. 5, Jan. 1949.
42. Hatigumpha Inscriptions, line. 3.
43. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX.

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Kharavela patronised Jainism. He offered royal maintenance to Jain monks and called them together to a council here; plans for the propagation of the faith were discussed.[44] From here Jainism spread into Ujjain, Gujarat and South India. There are huge images of Jain Tirthankaras (prophets) carved out in the rocks in Gwalior fort. It must have been done by the Bharasiva Naga family of Padmavathi some of the descendants of Kharavela. Forty miles south of Gwalior is the modern village of Powaya which has been identified as the site of the ancient city of Padmavati, and where a two faced Sun-capital and a palm capital were recovered. All of them are now kept in the Archaeological museum at Gwalior (They are Asokan symbols). The Nagas of Mathura who were also the descendants of Karavela were Jains, as seen by exhibits of Jaina Theerthankaras Lion Capitals at Mathura and Lucknow Museums. Exhibits in the Madras Museum show many Jain Thirthankaras recovered from all over South India. In Mysore State there are Jain Thirthankara statues, some of them may have been erected in Khravela's life time. Thus the Jain religion spread into South India.

He built five residential buildings for Jain ascetics of importance with stones brought from different and distant places.[45] Columns, four in number were also erected at the same time.[46] The remnant of a column to be seen in Bhuvaneswar Museum presumably erected by Kharavela is of white granite unobtainable in or around Bhuvaneswar. The bell-capital to be seen in the same site resembled fully the Asokan bell-capital. The disfigured statue of a lion of Saranath model is also found in the museum. Kharavela is also said to have built tanks and cisterns for improvement of agriculture. The Hathigumpha record in line 3 clearly mentions this part of Kharavela's work; "He causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibera Rishi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns also". The cistern which is to be seen in ruined state to-day about two kilometers from the Bhuvaneswar museum resembles indeed a Greek cistern, with the sides protruding inside, and even now full of water.

44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*

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The last line of the Hathigumpha record runs thus in translation "One whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself) descended from the family of the Royal Sage Vasu, the great Conqueror, the King, the illustrious Kharavela...."[47] This line testifies to the fact that Kharavela was an emperor and that he ruled over an empire. What historians have so far described about Kharavela as a small ruler who occupied modern Orissa (only a part of Asoka's dominions) does not tally with this statement. The chief queen of Kharavela calls her husband Kalinga emperor (Kalinga Cakravarti) in the Manchapuri inscription.[48] The descent from the royal sage seems to give direct proof to his connection with Asoka, to which reference has already been made. In a Deotek inscription a 'sami addresses his official (amaca) at Chikrambari; The 'sami' is the lord king. Prof. Mirashi, who exhibited an estampage of the record at the Mysore Oriental Conference in 1936 identifies the 'sami' with Asoka himself.[49] The very term 'vasu' implies 'protector' or 'king'.

The Successors of Kharavela

We know that the king Ava was defeated at Pithumda[50] in the Andhra country from line 11 of the Hathigumpha record. This king Ava is the same as Kuberaka of the Andhra kings. His date may therefore be roughly placed about 160 B.C. This was the period of the southern expedition of Kharavela. After Kharavela's death his successors continued to rule from Sisupalgarh as is seen from the donative records from the Udayagiri hills. If Kharavela grew into manhood in Kalinga as the Hathigumpha record informs us we may assign his death roughly to 150 B.C. basing ourselves on the established date of the Demetrian invasion of Pataliputra.[51] The two successors mentioned in the Udayagiri records may be taken to have ruled between 150 and 100 B.C.[52]

47. Hathigumpha Inscriptions, line 16, see. f.n.
48. Gopalachari: *Early History of the Andhra country*, p. 68.
49. *Indian Antiquity*, Vol. XX. p. 86.
50. The Placing of Pithumda is justified by the details found in Ptolemy's Geography. See Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
51. Gopalachari. *loc. cit.*
52. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX (See the note on Hathigumpha Ins. and f.n.).

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What happened to the Kharavela line after his death was not clear till now. What really happened was that some of his successors after 100 B.C. went down to the Andhra and the Tamil country and established themselves as rulers of these regions. The Vayalur record of the Pallavas gives us a list of several rulers of this dynasty of whom 1–21 are held by scholars as either legendary or unhistorical. Nos. 1–8 are also mentioned, in the Kuram, Udayendiran and Velurpalayam plates and the name Asoka (9th of the list) is mentioned in the Kasakudi plates also.[53] The rulers 10–22 of the list were the rulers who had occupied the Andhra country between 100 B.C.–200 A.D. when Pulumayi II and Yagña Satakarni, the Satavahana rulers subdued them.

It is in this way that we must explain the Naga rule spoken of by Ptolemy (140 A.D.) in the eastern coast of the Peninsula from modern Masulipatnam southwards. In this area Ptolemy demarcates two regions of Naga rule, that of Bosranaga in the north and of Sornaga in the south. The former was that was called Aruvanadu (Ptolemy's Arourainoi) extending northwards along the coast and the latter was called Soramandalam (which became later Colamandalam or Coramandal) after Sornaga. D. C. Sircar writes on this as follows: "This Arouarnoi was practically the same as the Kanchimandala i.e., the district round Kanci. Its capital was however at Malanga, which appears in Ptolemy's map far to the north of Kanchi. Ptolemy's Malanga may be identified with Amaravati on the banks of the Krishna while the Capital of Kancimandala was a southern Malanga."[54] The Madras Museum has to show among its exhibits from Amaravati an elephant-mounted bell capital and figures of two lions (Asokan) which must be dated in the period of the Naga rule there.[55] These Nagas must be none other than the successors of Kharavela who had come down south from the Orissa region round 100 B.C. and were defeated 300 years after by Pulumayi and Yajñasri.

53. D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, p. 378.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

55. The lions according to the Curator of the Museum, adorned the gateways of the city.

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The chronology of these rulers can be proved by roughly assigning 25 years of rule for each one of them as found in the Vayalur record of the Pallavas (No. 10–22) and we would reach the date assigned for their subjugation by the Satavahana rulers.

List as found in the Vailur Record

1.	Brahman		
2.	Angira		
3.	Brahaspati		
4.	Sayu		
5.	Bharadvaja		
6.	Drona		
7.	Asvatthaman		
8.	Pallava		
9.	Asoka		
10.	Harogupta	100 B.C.	75 B.C.
11.	Butadhatta	75 B.C.	50 B.C.
12.	Suryavarman	50 B.C.	25 B.C.
13.	Vishnugopa	25 B.C.	1 B.C.
14.	Ghrtaka	1 B.C.	25 A.D.
15.	Kalinda	25 A.D.	50 A.D.
16.	Jayamalla	50 A.D.	75 A.D.
17.	Ripumalla	75 A.D.	100 A.D.
18.	Vimala	100 A.D.	125 A.D.
19.	Kongani	125 A.D.	150 A.D.
20.	Kalabharata	150 A.D.	175.A.D.
21.	Cutapallava*	175 A.D.	200 A.D.
22.	Virakurca	200 A.D.	225 A.D.

* D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, pp. 377-378.

Names of 1st to 7th are legendary and it is noteworthy that two of the kings mentioned in the list bears the name Pallava and Asoka.

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Rulers of South-east Asia

The story of Kaundiniya's conquest of South-East Asia is a tradition and it is now commonly believed both in South-east Asia and on the mainland. South-east Asia had already been formed giving the title direct to the story that Kaundiniya went there in the first century A.D. and taught the people there to cover their nakedness and married a Naga princess. Indeed the stories circling round Kaundiniya must be revised and understood to refer to some early conquests of the region from the mainland. This is further clear from the fact that later Monarchs of Cambodia where Kaundiniya is supposed to have landed never claim descent from him but from a person called Maharishi Brigu.[56] "Local tradition in Yuman (south China) affirms that the royal family was descended from Asoka .... the founding of Ligor in the Malay peninsula is ascribed to a descendant of Asoka" says R. C. Majumdar.[57] Funan formed part of south China in early times. The date of Kaundiniya's conquest of the Funan has been assigned by some to the middle of the II century A.D. on purely circumstantial evidence. The truth however, lies in antedating this conquest to the II century B.C. No less a scholar than Coedes opines that the Hindus colonised south-east Asia during the II and I centuries B.C. and Mr. O. C. Gangoly adduces independent evidence from Indian literature in its support.[58]

This is what is meant by the story of the Kaundiniya conquest which is really the conquest of South-east Asia by the descendants of Kharavela. These are called the descendants of sage Vasu in Indian records and as those of sage Brigu in South East Asian records and as those of Kaundiniya gotra in other records. This was due to a general equation between these gotras to mean a Brahminical gotra. That these were the Nagas, who are mentioned as the "Original Rulers" of South east Asia, is also beyond doubt. They held full sway over the east coast of India for a

56. Sastri, K. A. N. *History of India, Part I*, p. 170.

57. Majumdar, *History and Culture of Indian People*, II, 655.

58. Gangoly: "Relation between India and Indonesian Culture" (*Greater Indian Society Journal*, 1940, see also Prof. Sylvain Levi. Ptolemie Niddesa et la Prohat Katha" in *Etudes Asiotigues*, II, (1925).

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period of 300 years and more of which the ship mast coins of the region referred to by Prof. Rapson,[59] is a clear indication. The appearance of these coins of the double mast on one side and the Ujjain Symbol (which is Asokan) on the other refers to the sea power of the Nagas. R. P. Jackson, referring to this, mentions coins of the same kind bearing symbols like rayed chakra (again reminding one of Asoka) crab, star, tree and ship with two masts belonging to very early times.[60] Excavations in Champa have yielded a bronze Buddha over 3½ feet high in the Amaravati style which was once the region of the Naga rule.

"In this connection," says, D. C. Sircar, "we should also notice the Buddhist traditions of Ceylon and Siam which speak of a Naga country on the coast near the Diamond sands" to the south of Dantapura between the mouth of the Ganges and Ceylon." D. C. Sircar is right in identifying this region with Masulipatam and its surroundings.[61] The only difficulty here lies in the different dates of the tradition. The Ceylonese tradition gives the dates as B.C. 157 while the Siamese tradition is dated between 310 and 313 A.D. when the Naga rule had ended on the Coromandal.

The reason for this is that the Siamese identified the successors of the Nagas with the Pallavas of Sivaskandavarman line and the Nagas of South-east Asia. In the *Mahavamsa* there is reference to a country called Pallava Bhoga "from which the wise Mahadeva along with many bhikshus is said to have come to Ceylon on the occasion of the construction of the great stupa at Anuradhapura"[62] for which the date 157 B.C. is assigned. Obviously they had come from the region of Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati and Kaveripatnam, which was then the centre of Buddhism. Thus the people to whom the Ceylon Chronicle refers were none other than the Nagas. There is no contradiction between the evidence from Siam and

59. Rapson, *Catalogue* 1, xx. xl.
60. *British Numis. Journal.* IX., 193, (Jackson).
61. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
62. *Mahavamsa* (Geigar) 194.

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that from Ceylon. They conjointly fix the upper and the lower limit of the Naga rule and show beyond doubt that the Nagas were Pallavas and the Pallavas were Nagas. The Tamil Classic, *Perumpanarrupadai* which attributes to the Cola king a misalliance with a Nagâ lady, Pilivalai, resulting in the birth of Ilanthiraiyan, the first Pallava must be taken to record these early Naga–Pallava connections with South East Asia. It is a fact that the Pallavas were Persians.[63]

The Pallava progress in Cambodia is spotlighted by two inscriptions (the earliest to be discovered) from that region. One of them refers to a king called Gunavarman establishing on earth "the impress of the feet of Bhagawan" in the presence of learned Brahmanas and making various donations in support of this faith. These records were discovered by Coedes in 1931 and he has fixed their date to the middle of the V century A.D. These doubtless indicate a new expansion in Cambodia during the period. Right enough, the Chinese annals bring in the story of the arrival of a second Kaundinya in Cambodia at this time. "Kaundinya a Brahman from Indian heard a supernatural voice calling to him "you must go and reign in Punana' ". "Kaundinya", the account continues, "rejoiced in his heart and reached a country which was to the south of Funana; When the people of Funan heard of him the whole kingdom was stirred with joy and they came to him and chose him king". The Pallavas of Sivaskandavarman line of Kanchi replace the Pallava rulers of Punan descendants of Kharavelas.

These things must have happened when Skandavarman II was ruling in Kanchipura 400–426 A.D. The Rayakota plates of the period refer to the doner of the grant as "equal to Agastya who drank the ocean". May this not refer to the Pallava conquest of this period across the ocean? The Pattamangalam plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla say that he was the son of Hiranyavarman and came to the throne when he was quite young and the Kasakudi plate tell us that he belonged to the branch of

63. See Macdonnel and Keith: *Vedic India* 504—505, 521—22; Persians were known in India as Prsava and the Puranas call them as Pahlavas.

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Bhimavarman (the younger brother of Simhavishnu of the main line).

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam following the descriptive labels found in the Vaikuntaperumal temple at Kanchipura says that the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla was chosen to rule in Kanchi from Cambodia "for purity of Pallava dynasty".[64] It therefore appears certain that in Simhavishnu's time (575–600 A.D.) his brother Bhimavarman had gone to Cambodia thus establishing the truth of the statement that the Pallavas had extended their sway to Cambodia in the middle of the 5th century A.D. The concluding part of the Vayalur record of Narasimhavarman Pallavamalla is very enlightening, when it says that the kingdom of the Pallavas extended beyond the seas covering thousands of islands. Surprisingly enough the Chinese sources referring to this period say that the king Narasimha Pottavarman (Narasimhavarman II) sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese emperor of his intension to go to war against the Arabs (To-che) and the Tibetans (T'on-Pe) and request him to name his army, which was accordingly named as "The army which cherished virtue"[65] What is more revealing is the fact that the descriptive labels at Kanchipuram suggest the coronation of Pallavamalla with an elephant scalp reminding one of Kharavela's victory over Demetrius whose headgear was the elephant.

Dr. B. Ch. Chabra in his well-known book *Expansion of Indo-Aryan culture during Pallava rules* states that it is quite possible that Pallavas had extended their sway over southeast Asia during this period.

It is a point to be noted that among the artistic specimens at Mahabalipuram the elephant and the lion figure most prominently reminding us of the Pallava connection with Asoka. The figure of lion is found both in Mahabalipuram and Cambodia (Anchor vat

64. T. V. Mahalingam, *Kanchipuram, its early History*, (Sir William Meyer Endowent Lecture, 1965).

65. "Pallava Rajasimha and South-East Asia," *Journal of Madras University*, XXXII, No. 2, Sec. A.

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temples). Great questions on the origin of the Pallavas are thus solved. There is little doubt that they were of Persian extraction and were thus imbued with a great architectural skill. What is attempted to point out here is that they were also descendants of Asoka.

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Nagini from Papet Dist., Sagar (M.P.)

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A Note on a Nagini Image

BY

R. N. Misra

The polycepholous male and female images occur abundantly in the whole range of ancient Indian art. The proper identification of such images with specific deities, particularly in the case of such images of the mediaeval times, is a difficult problem. The images of this type, having several Nāga–hoods, a child, and the right hand in the *abhaya mudra* are known from different parts of India, and are more recurrent in the Eastern India.

The Archaeological Museum of the University of Saugar has one two–armed image of a Nāginī having a canopy of seven–hoods over her head. This image was recovered from Papet in the Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh. The Nāginī has her right hand in the *varada mudrā*, while in her left hand she holds a child touching her left breast. The Nāginī wears Kuṇḍalas, a flat *graiveyaka*, torque, a three–stringed necklace *angadas* and wristlets, on the upper part of her body. Her torso has a four–stringed *mekhalā* with beaded festoons, neatly arranged, hanging downwards. She wears anklets also.

On the lower part of the stele, there are two rows of sitting–figures, four to the Nāginī's left and five to her right, amongst the latter, the last figure represents Gaṇeśa. These figures are all badly corroded, but enough remains of their physiognomy to show that they are all male figures (*Pl.*).

The main image is archaic in style, it has no flowing contours and is characterised by stiffness as far as the depiction of the physical volume is concerned. The other subsidiary figures have also been depicted in a stereotyped manner. The only exception to this scheme of depiction is the figure of child, which unfortunately is badly mutilated.

The specific identity of this image is difficult to establish in view of the absence of any inscription on it. Moreover, such

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images have been found elsewhere also, and remain largely unidentified. Sircar, who reported from eastern India, similar polycephalous female figures accompanied with a child in her lap, and lion as her mount sometimes, suggested their association with the 'primitive mother-goddess'.[1] Sircar also said that such images came to acquire the name Manasā, in Bengal.[2]

The features of the image quoted in this paper, make it possible to tentatively identify it with Manasā. She has her right arm in the *varada mudrā*, has a child and the seven serpent-hoods. All these occur in the *dhyānas*[3] concerning Manasā in Bengal and Bihar. The myth and legend concerning Manasā have been elaborately treated by Maity[4] and for a detailed study of the cult, the reader is referred to that book.

As regards the child and the other figures on the stele, it seems the child may be Āstīkā, the son of Manasā. The other figures cannot be the Matrikās, for they are male figures. It is likely they represent the *ashṭavasus*. The presence of Gaṇeśa may indicate that the image had something to do with keeping the troubles at bay. In any case, the image offers an important evidence of the prevalence of Nāga cult in the regions of Madhya Pradesh. Although several images of the Jain Yakshini Padmāvatī, are known from Mādhya Pradesh region, eg. Tripuri, Sohagpur, Khajurabo, etc., this image certainly has no Jaina connections and belongs to beautiful Sītā, whom the demon Rāvana had stolen away from the different parts of Madhya Pradesh.[5]

1. Sircar, D. C., *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, pp. 138-9 ef. Maity P. K., *Historical studies in the Cult of Goddess Manasa* (Calcutta, 66), p 238.
2. Sircar, *op.cit*.
3. Maity, P. K., *op.cit*., pp. 209 ff.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 77 ff.
5. One such image is known from Gobra, (on the Sagar-Jabalpur road), it has all the characteristics of the image discussed here, except the subsidiary figures. Stylistically it belongs to the late mediaeval period.

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Vijayanagara — The "City of Victory"

BY

WALTER M. SPINK

"Then a panic seized the city. The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was a cataclysm.... The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious (Muslims) had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment, but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagara knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood.....They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated (Vithala temple)....and smashed its equisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought ,and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruin...."[1]

The history which has left in its wake upon the banks of the Tungabhadra the slumbering village of Hampi — all that remains of the magnificent Vijayanagar — is a history where remarkably enlightened actions mingled disastrously with the blindness which so often accompanies the achievements of power. The destruction wrought upon "that great, that mighty city, and upon the lords of the earth who lived deliciously with her" can perhaps, at the end, be ascribed to the pride of its people and of its kings, who had raised it with its temples and its palatial towers, to such a place of pre-eminence in southern India during the 14th to 16th

1. Sewell, Robert, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)*, London, 1900, pp. 206-208 *passim*, following various accounts, especially Ferishta and De Couto.

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centuries. Although the lower half of India's sub-continent was a land expansive and rich enough to support all who could harvest the riches of its fields and of its surrounding seas, its great rulers—Rājas and Sultans alike—were not able to trust, to understand, or to get along with each other.

The chief antagonists in the battle for political and personal supremacy were the Hindus on the one hand and the Muslims on the other. And meanwhile the forces of the West—in this particular case the Portuguese—stirred (for at least were unwilling to smooth) the troubled waves of consuming unrest which ultimately swept away their visions too; for with the fall of Vijayanagara, the major source of the wealth which they acquired through trade was gone.

Perhaps there is a lesson to be learned from this; or perhaps not. Certainly the world which we shall be briefly exploring, if moved to slightly further fields, seems not too different today, either in East or West. However, we must observe rather than moralize; and our observations will encounter, fortunately, many magnificent remains and much of interest, not only in what was accomplished but in the men who accomplished it.

We might start our story in the late fifteenth century, when ancient Vijayanagara was at a precipitous moment in its history. At this moment the weakening first dynasty, which had been in power for a century and a half and had been responsible for laying the splendid foundations of the city, suffered great difficulties. The heirs-apparent, for a short time, were mere children and (sometimes aided by discreet poisonings) were peculiarly subject to dying. As the accounts say, with something of the ornamentation of the art of the time itself, "(they) had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their inconsistancy, burned up the earth of (their) existence with the blasting wind of annihilation."[2] Thus in 1505 A.D. the empire fell into the hands of Viranarasimha, a usurping minister. However, this turned out for the

2. Ferishta (a Persian chronicler who resided at the court of the Shāh of Ahmadnagar, circa 1600), quoted in Sewell, p. 112.

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best, for one of his descendants was the greatest of all Vijayanagara sovereigns, Krishnadevarāya, who ruled from 1509 to 1529 and expanded the city to the size and significance which we can still make out from the puzzle of its fragments today. One further generation and, with the massacre of the Hindus by the Muslims at Tālikōta in 1565 (with which we will end our story), Vijayanagara's doom was forever sealed; then flowers, instead of onrushing armies, invaded the fields which the soldiers and the merchants and the courts abandoned. But we shall come to that.

Let us go back in history first, to the far distant past, to discover at least some of the more mysterious reasons that this great city was clearly destined to rise upon the fertile banks of the Tungabhadra (or Pampā) river. (The latter name has become the word Hampi, the name of the present village which still exists at the site).

Few great centres of religious and/or political power in India become such by mere chance. Most, if we explore the ancient records, were the locations of epic events which forever hallowed them. For instance, one may wonder, seeing the startlingly thrown-up piles of gigantic boulders which surround the site—"hills which are the strangest ever seen" as one early traveller put it—, just how they came to be. Geologists have suggested these great heaps of monoliths, which happily provided a most convenient source of material for the walls and buildings of the city, were formed by a gradual breakup of the exposed granite hillocks in the region, due to the alternating action of the scorching sun and the torrential monsoon rains. However, the pious claim that they are the wasteheaps where the monkey-god Hanumān and his troops dumped the great building-blocks which were left over after they had built the rocky causeway with which they once connected the southern tip of India with Ceylon. It was across this remarkable construction, now largely washed away, that Hanumān and his monkey troops launched their invasion—in prehistoric times—of that island citadel. There they rescued the beautiful Sītā, whom the demon Rāvana had stolen away from the divine hero Rāma.

The future of Vijayanagara was connected in many other ways with these events which are recorded in the ancient epic, the

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Ramāyana. All of these connections added to its sanctity. It was a spot much favoured by the gods. Rāma himself, along with Hanumān, visited the spot. His image is to be found in many of the remaining temples, one of the most important of which is dedicated specifically to him. The jewels of his bride Sītā, according to the same traditions, were hidden away for safe-keeping in a rude cave by the monkey chief Sugrīva. We have no trace of the jewels today, but the cave has remained an important point of worship. The pious can still point out, on the smooth expanse of the sloping rocks nearby, the traces left by the garments of the heroine. The fate of one of Rāma's adversaries, Vāli, was less fortunate. A huge pile of his cremated remains—a pile in which traces of bone and ash can still be found and which archaeologists might be tempted to identify as an ancient burning-ground—still exists in one of the nearby villages.

Partly because of these associations, the area around present day Hampi appears to have been a site of religious importance for many hundreds of years. But it is not until the early fourteenth century that its crucial position in the history of South India begins. Then it became the chief center of the famous Vijayanagara dynasty which, for well over two hundred years, fostered and preserved the traditions of Hindu culture in the face of the threatening tide of Muslim conquest.

Ironically and perhaps ominously, the foundation of the dynasty in 1336 begins with a breach in trust between Muslims and Hindus. The Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad-bin-Tughluq, in one of his raids into the region shortly before this time, had taken two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, the treasury officers of the local petty rāja, as prisoners and had transported them to Delhi. Probably out of expediency, they had embraced the Muslim faith and had gained the trust of the Delhi Sultan. Thus when the Delhi Sultan had trouble controlling the far distant Hampi region, he dispatched them there to act as his viceroys.

However, no sooner had Harihara and Bukka arrived back in their homeland than they renounced Islam and their pledge of obligation to the Sultan. They espoused the Hindu faith again and set up their own independent kingdom. To better protect their power—which was destined to grow so vigorously—they immediately started building the present city and improving the rich land on

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the south bank of the Tungabhadra, opposite the older fortress of Anegondi on other shore. In their endeavours they were aided by the great Hindu sage, Vidyāranya, who with them must be counted as one of the true founders of the Vijayanagara empire, being renowned for his political astuteness. Furthermore, being much favoured by the gods, he received a sizable rain of golden coins from the sky at the very time when funds were most needed. Vidyāranya fully intended to establish the dynasty for the fullness of eternity itself, and to ensure this he arranged that the foundation stone of the new city be laid at an absolutely auspicious moment, which he would announce by a blast of a sacred conch shell. But the Lord Shiva, for reasons not entirely clear, frustrated these plans by giving a false signal. Therefore the cornerstone was laid too soon and as a consequence the city was doomed to a much briefer span of glory.

Nonetheless with the help of the gods, the new dynasty started on a course of grand prosperity. Shortly after 1336, largely untroubled by the Muslim Sultanates who were occupied with their own disputes to the north, Harihara, the first king, and his immediate successors built the great stone bridge across the wide river and many of the fortification-walls of cyclopean construction, traces of which can still be seen today. In the regions to the west, citadels such as that at the old Chalukyan site of Badāmi came under Vijayanagara's control and were subsequently strengthened. The lands of the Hoysalas, filled with their fabulously carved temples, were also brought under control; and of course the art and culture of such regions had their effect upon Vijayanagara's developments. By the end of the fourteenth century, although both Harihara and Bukka had by then expired, the Sultanate of Madura also fell to the rising power. With this latter victory, the whole of the southern part of India was in the Vijayanagara dynasty's firm control. The region soon became a strong political unit, preserving the sacred Hindu traditions throughout the fifteenth century, even though the power of the Bahmanī Sultans to the north was a constant—but partly because of this a unifying—spectre on the horizon.

The first Vijayanagara dynasty, as we have mentioned, did indeed weaken by the end of the fifteenth century and ultimately fell, but this was due to internal rather than external problems.

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In any case, out of the turbulance of usurpation and intrigue, as often happens in history, a transcendant leader ultimately emerged. This was the king Krishnadevarāya, with whose interests and exploits, during the period 1509 to 1529 we must now be concerned. Much of what remains at Hampi today still is a characteristically dynamic reflection on his reign.

The truth is Krishnadevarāya nearly did not succeed to the throne. Step-mothers are, whether their reputation is justified or not, notoriously difficult, and Krishnadevarāya's had no desire to see her step-son inherit the throne. Therefore she prevailed upon her husband, the dying king Vīranarasimha, to have Krishnadevarāya blinded. However, through the wise intercession of a minister, who saw in the young prince the hope of the kingdom's future, two goat's eyes were instead presented to the expiring king. Thus the king died happy, sure that his promise to his wife had been fulfilled, and Krishnadevarāya fortuitously lived—filled with vision—to inherit the throne.

Now almost immediately another troublesome woman entered the scene. This was Krishnadevarāya's chosen bride—as beautiful as the gooddess Uma—who was disturbed by rumours that her new husband might not actually be of pure brahman blood and, rather than risk pollution by his touch, decided to dispatch him to an undeserved reward upon his wedding night. In simplest terms, she planned to murder him in bed. However again the wise minister, so the legend goes, affected a ruse. He prepared an image in the exact likeness of Krishnadvarāya and filled it up with sweet coloured water. When the concerned bride took her golden dagger and plunged it into the object of her scorn the apparent blood which spurted upon to her lips tasted as delicious as honey. Immediately and in much shame and anguish she repented her act, thinking she had killed a bridegroom of unearthly perfection. In such a mood, she was quite ready to listen to the arguments of the minister, who had hidden himself beneath the bed, and who was able to convince her that Krishnadevarāya was indeed of proper caste and character.[3]

3. For the above legends regarding Krishnadevarāya's marriage, see Balasundaram, A. K., *Relics of the Vijayanagar Glory, Anantapur*, 1948 (revised edition), pp. 13-18, notes 5-7.

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These qualities, which the minister proclaimed, were indeed soon to show themselves. Domingo Paes, who visited Vijayanagara along with a large delegation from the Portuguese trading port of Goa in western India, in a report dated about 1520, proclaimed that Krishnadevaraya "is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition....a man of much justice,....and gallant and perfect in all things."[4]

This was a time of peace. Krishnadevarāya, with great military acumen, divine aid, and good luck, had not only beaten back his foes to the north but had struck such terror into their hearts that they never attempted to attack his kingdom again while he reigned. Thus there was time for consolidation, for many land improvements, for the building of temples, administrative buildings and fortifications, and for elaborate ceremonials, all of which Paes and Nuniz, another Portuguese visitor, describe in detail in their accounts.

They speak with particular awe and envy—the passions of travellers far away from home—of the great entourage of wives and of less exalted female attendants who surrounded the king, declaring by their very presence (as was important in India in those days) his power and his magnificent prerogatives. The women whom the visitors saw were adorned as richly as possible with "many jewels...., rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed-pearls."[5] Some, according to Nuniz, were "so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move."[6] It is interesting to note that, as in the nearly contemporary Shah of Malwa's harem, of which pictorial records remain, these women performed a host of varied and surprising tasks. Paes says that among Krishnadevarāya's entourage of 12,000 ladies, "there are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets and...other instruments."[7] So they were not merely a luxury.

4. Domingos Paes' narrative written probably 1520-22, quoted in Sewell, p. 247.

5. *Ibid.*, 248.

6. Fernão Nuniz' chronicle written probably 1535-1537, quoted in Sewell, p. 378.

7. Paes, quoted in Sewell, pp. 248-249.

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We are not certain today just where all these ladies of the court were housed, but one large courtyard close to the king's palace is popularly known as the Zanāna enclosure. Its walls, which do not seem to be fortifications, may have been for purposes modest rather than military. Its fine towers, some scholars have suggested, may have been built so that the ladies of the court could watch, still in isolation, ceremonies on the grounds below. The remains of a large structure—the so-called Queen's Palace—is also in the enclosure. But the finest structure of all is the Lotus Mahal. Once fully decorated, painted, and covered with highly polished plaster, it had shutters on its many windows, a fact which could strengthen the assumption that the building itself and the enclosures around it once did indeed form part of the women's compound.

It is perhaps not surprising, considering such an excess of wives, that the king was much concerned to keep himself in good condition. Chroniclers marvel at the vigour with which he did calesthenics every day, lifting "great weights made of earthenware .... wrestling .... and galloping about the plain in one direction and another .... before daybreak."[8]

After such daily exercise, it was Krishnadevarāya's custom to go "to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls" which had many pillars hung with cloths .... In such a building" we read, "he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom .... (They) make their (obeisance) to him do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they .... cast their eyes to the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person .... "[9]

One can sense from this that the king, although renowned for his wisdom and tolerance, demanded the utmost respect. This was, of course the convention of the day. Like Louis the Fourteenth, with whose understanding of politics and psychology his own is easily compared, Krishnadevarāya established himself and his capital as a kind of symbolic cosmic center, from which

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

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all benefit derived, and from which the growth of action and of empire should necessarily and inevitably have its source. His vanity—for instance he never wore the same garment more than once—was the vanity of station and not of person. In the same way, coldly and rationally, he could be as ferociously cruel as the divine man-lion Narasimha whom he worshipped. "Nobles who become traitors" say the chroniclers, "are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly; .... and when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces."[10] "The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand .... holding a stone on his back all day .... he would do it."[11]

In the same way, the King assured his people of impressive ceremonials. The greatest each year took place over the course of nine days and was accompanied by the sacrifice of 250 buffaloes and 4500 goats.[12] Such a great festival of course drew and in fact demanded representation from all of the important nobles of the domain. Therefore it is not surprising to read that during nine days the king arranged to be paid all of the vast rents due from these nobles who in turn of course drew such revenues from the taxation of the people under their immediate control. The richness of the empire—which hardly extended down to the common man—was based on this system to taxation. The pain of such payments was at least lessened, however, by the splendours of the occasion. Dancing, athletic matches, fireworks, music, and pompous displays of military preparedness were combined with the festivities surrounding the deities involving innumerable lights placed upon the walls and buildings and battlements. At the centre of it all of course, was the king himself, riding in splendid processions through the streets, or seated in state upon a magnificent throne, now unfortunately lost as part of the loot of a later war.

A lingering reminiscence of such festivals can be seen even today in the so-called car-festivals which take place annually in

10. Nuniz, quoted in Sewell, pp. 383-384.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 384.
12. Paes, quoted in Sewell, pp. 274-275.

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many of the pilgrimage centres of southern India, often to celebrate the marriage of the chief god and goddess of the locality. At this time the idols are taken from the temple, placed in specially constructed chariots, and transported through the city's major thoroughfare amid great rejoicing. The frames of two such chariots, without their more impermanent superstructures, can still be seen in the little town of Hampi today, in the once flourishing old bazaar area, which each spring becomes alive again, when thousands of people gather for the annual car-festival. For the rest of the year the old bazaar is quiet, and its ancient glory gone, although in the 16th-century accounts we read that goods from all over the world were then available in it. Clumsy modern structures have been built as living quarters among the remnants of the ancient monuments which line its streets.

A surprising and very beautiful reproduction of such a ceremonial chariot, carved from wonderfully close-fitting stone sections, can still be found at Hampi. It calls to mind the gigantic chariot-temple of Surya at Konarak in Orissa. For centuries the pious turned the lotiform stone wheels of the Hampi chariot, as a meritorious gesture, so that now the granite axles have nearly been ground away. Of course this particular chariot—which once had a brick and stucco superstructure—was never actually used in procession. It seems to have been created instead to house the sun-bird, Garuda, upon whom the great god Vishnu rides the skies. Its presence in this particular spot is due to the fact that the adjacent temple is actually dedicated to Vishnu, in his aspect as Vithala or Vithoba.

Krishnadevarāya himself began the Vithala temple in 1513 and endowed it with villages for its support while inscriptions prove that his two chief wives built the gateways and made offerings of golden vessels to the deity in its shrine. Its superstructure of brick and stucco is now gone but was probably not finished in any case, so extensive was the undertaking.

The Vithala temple, with its still-towering gates, its elaborate main section, and the splendid Kalyāna (or marriage) shrine adjacent to it gives a splendid impression of the almost overweening exuberance of the Vijayanagara style of temple architecture.

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Perhaps the most characteristic hallmarks of the style are the ingeniously treated pillar types. Sometimes they are cut away into delicate colonnettes supported on animal forms, and supporting the broad overhanging stone caves. More often they are urged into symbols of vigour and even violence, fitting architectural adjectives with which to describe the expansiveness and the proud and aggressive psychology which underlay Vijayanagara's rise to a place of pre-eminence in the subcontinent in the 15th and 16th centuries. The stories of the gods are not forgotten in the sculptures with which the architecture is laden. In one of the typical (although now ruined) multipillared halls within the extensive shrine complex, we see portions of the legend of the god Krishna, with his mother churning the butter which this famous child-god steals, and with which, in delight, he dances away.

The upper portions of such temples tend to be in bad condition today. Those which had superstructures of wood were long since burned by Muslim invaders, while those which were made of brick and stucco are gradually eroding away, their once brilliantly painted gods and goddesses now suffering the despair of neglect.

The Hazāra Rāma temple is somewhat simpler and may have been started by some of Krishnadevarāya's predecessors, although it is fairly certain that he made additions to it. It too, its writhing zoomorphic forms filled with the optimistic tensions of the period, typifies the style, while its many sculptured friezes depicting the legends of Rāma recall the auspicious associations which surround the site.

A still earlier temple, considered the most sacred of all, is the Virūpāksha. But here again it did not assume its present form until the period of Krishnadevarāya. His most important addition was that of the Ranga-mandapa or Painted Hall, where paintings of the type which once decorated most of the temples of the city are beautifully preserved. The temple is dedicated to the god Shiva, for the people of the day honoured many deities—indeed there was even a flourishing Jain community and many Jain temples in the city. On the ceiling, along with various other gods, Shiva is shown in various guises. He forges forth, for instance, in his divine chariot, accompanied by his serpents, in his

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conquest of three great fortresses; or he is seated in the ascetic oblivion of yogic meditation, while the god of love attempts to disturb him with his flower arrows.

If Krishnadevarāya lavished his attention on the gods, such actions were in part purposeful. They made it clear to the whole subcontinent that he, as the head of a great dynasty, was the preserver of the Hindu tradition, at a time when much of the rest of India was under the yoke of Muslim rule. Like the elephant-god, Ganesh, whose huge presence is installed in a still-preserved pavilion overlooking the ruins of Hampi, Krishnadevarāya proclaimed himself the auspicious root of all good things and the remover of all obstacles. Startling images, such as the gigantic man-lion (Narasimha) incarnation of the god Vishnu carved from one great block of rock, were similarly calculated to awe the beholder not only of the obvious power of the gods but of the king who was so intimately associated with them. Similarly, the huge stone balance where he is known to have had himself weighed against gold on a number of occasions, in the Tulūpurushapradāna ceremony, stood (as it still stands today) as a constant reminder of the king's generosity.[13]

Once we understand Krishnadevarāya's piety we can better realize why, not only at Vijayanagara but throughout the whole of the south, the monumental gates which define the expanding temple precincts are often known as Rāyagopurams, for we find that many were built at the time of Krishnadevarāya's rule or during the rule of his immediate successors. And even when, in 1565, the power of his progeny was broken at the battle of Tālikota and the rule of the Hindu sovereigns was compressed into a much smaller area of the south, the influence of the Vijayanagara style continues to be asserted in monuments of later years, such as the great Minākshi temple at Madura.

Krishnadevarāya was intensely practical as well as pious. The time in which he lived was a period when great cities literally could not prosper without being fortified, nor could a monarch rule without an army waiting in readiness for the slightest threat

13. Raghavacharlu, K., "Krishna Raya, The Man", in *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, Dharwar, 1936, p. 189 (basing his statements on original sources, notably *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Pārijātaharana*.

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of—or desire to—attack. This explains the presence of Krishnadevarāya's so-called elephant stables—we are not actually sure of their original function—and other such structures which were almost certainly built for military purposes. Vijayanagara's military expenditure were certainly consistent with the portions allotted for the military in the national budgets of "enlightened" countries today; according to chroniclers, when Krishnadevarāya went into the great battle of Raichur, he was able to summon up and to supply nearly one million troops. He even had had the acumen to corner much of the supply of horses so important in the chaos of battle; these he received largely through the port of Goa, with which (largely for this reason) he was intent on maintaining good relations and a flourishing trade. "Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses attached to yourself by providing them with villages and decent dwellings in the city, by affording them daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies." So suggests the Āmuktamālyada, and Krishnadevarāya followed its advice.[14]

At his capital, in a practical manner, Krishnadevarāya, continuing work started by his perdecessors, linked the strong surrounding hills with a series of fortified walls. There were perhaps once as many as seven concentric lines of fortifications, with all the necessary gates and battlements. Nor did the king fail to consider the need for a good supply of water during times of seige, building a series of reservoirs ingenious stone aqueducts, and water towers as well as great public and royal baths. Needless to say these endeavours had great benefits for the agriculture of the region, which still benefits from them today, for all of the fact that much of the elaborate irrigation system has fallen into disrepair.

Such technological advances were not achieved without difficulties, even though the monarch could summon up great hoards

14. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v. 258, quoted in Heras, H., and V. K. Bhandarkar "Vijayanagara Empire: A Synthesis of South Indian Culture", in *Vijayanagara Volume*.

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of workmen at his bidding. In the construction of one dam, for instance, we are told that "there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men (at work), looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked."[15] Nonetheless the king ran into trouble, for the dam burst two or three times. Consulting the priests, who in turn consulted the gods, he discovered that the latter were displeased and desired a sacrifice. "As soon as the king heard this", we read, "he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the (temple) the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done."[16]

Even though the Muslim sultans to the north were involved in fighting among themselves—which they seemed always willing to do—during the first part of Krishnadevarāya's reign, and even though individual Muslims were allowed to live in peace throughout Krishnadevarāya's domains, the enmity between the Muslim dynasties to the north and the Vijayanagara Hindus was of such longstanding that each side cherished its hatred. The Hindus could hardly forget how in the previous century the sultanate forces had carried out a terrible massacre in their domains and had celebrated the death of every new group of 20,000 Hindus with a special feast; nor could the Muslims tolerate the scornful pride of the great Vijayanagara power. The swelling boil of rivalry finally came to a head when Krishnadevarāya, at the height of his power, laid seige to the important citadel of Raichur, just to the north of his empire's borders, in 1520. He advanced, according to one account, with an army of 35,000 horses, 733,000 foot-soldiers, and 586 great war elephants upon whose swinging trunks long scythes had been affixed. 12,000 watercarriers alone, so necessary on the parched plains, accompanied the troops, along with at least 20,000 courtesans.[17] The soldiers were almost blindly devoted to their king, who, following the custom of the day, proceeded near the front of his troops. His courage in battle was almost legendary, as was his fury; he would, it is said, personally slaughter any defectors. But his compassion was also great; he would personally scout the field for the wounded and make arrangements for their proper care.

15. Paes, quoted in Sewell, p. 245.
16. *Ibid.*, 245.
17. Faria y Souza, probably following Nuniz; quoted in Sewell, p. 145.

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Despite the devotion of the soldiers to their ruler, the great battle of Raichur was almost lost, for the ranked artillery of the Bījapūr Shāh caused great disaster to the Hindus during the first engagement on the field. But Krishnadevarāya, facing almost certain death, rallied his troops, first sending back orders to his wives that they burn themselves by committing sati, as soon as they should receive news of his having been slain. Fortunately, for his wives such self-immolation (still common in that day) was not necessary; for the king won a glorious victory, ending in a ruthless sacking of the rich city and (according to some accounts) a widespread rape of its women, which the Muslims could never forgive.

When Krishnadevarāya and his troops had returned to their own capital, full of even greater pride, they were visited by an ambassador from 'Adil Shāh asking for the restoration of his ruined city. To this the proud Krishnadevarāya readily agreed saying, according to the accounts "that he would be content to restore everything to 'Adil Shāh according to his wish....provided 'Adil Shāh would come and kiss his foot."[18] That the Muslim sultan of Bījapūr could ever agree to submit to such an affront was absolutely unthinkable, as Krishnadevarāya must have known. It was the ultimate insult, not only to 'Adil Shāh but to the Muslim sultans in general; and it was probably a significant factor in causing them to finally put aside some of their own disputes and to form a loose but nonetheless effective coalition against increasingly intolerable Vijayanagara power to the south. One might indeed argue that this gratuitous insult or at least the attitude which it reveals ultimately spelled the doom of Vijayanagara, although Krishnadeverāya himself and his contemporaries would escape the Muslim sword. That fate would not come for another geneartion, but come it would.

It came, in fact at the crucial battle of Tālikota in 1565. By then a regent named Rāmarāya, acting for an ineffectual descendant of Krishnadevarāya, was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara. Rāmarāva was actually an ingenious and courageous ruler who cleverly entered into various alliances with certain of the Deccani sultans, playing the power of one off against the other. But his soldiers, reflecting his own excessive arrogance

18. Nuniz, quoted in Sewell, p. 352.

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and indiscretion, deepened the breach with their erstwhile Muslim allies, during the capture of some of the northern strongholds by heedlessly ravishing the Muslim women, brutally razing the towns, and even keeping their horses in the sacred Muslim mosques. Rāmarāya himself only magnified such blunders. "Looking on the (Muslim) Sultan as of little consequence" says the chronicler Ferishta, "he refused proper honours to their ambassadors. When he admitted them to his presence he did not suffer them to sit, and treated them with the most contemptuous reserve and haughtiness."[19] Even if we admit that such Muslim accounts exaggerate, it seems clear that Rāmarāya was compounding the sins of pride of Krishnadevarāya. Meanwhile his people, seemingly secure in their rich and stable kingdom, sensed nothing of the coming deluge of Muslim retribution. The lack of personal tact and political wisdom, of course, should not be laid solely at the Hindu door. For instance, when one of the Muslim ambassadors called for water to wash his right hand after Rāmarāya had kissed it in a conventional greeting, it could hardly have improved the fragile relationships!

By 1564, the Muslim sultans had clearly decided that their hatred of the Vijayanagara Hindus was stronger than their hatred of each other, and they formed what they called "a general league of the faithful" against Rāmarāya. Early the following year, massing their forces, they advanced southward, finally halting near the fortress of Tālikota, slightly north of the Vijayanagara border. Rāmarāya, commanding his troops, although by now he was ninety-six years of age, advanced in pride and confidence to meet them.[20] He attacked the Muslim flanks; but it went far from well, and many of his soldiers were killed. Therefore, to encourage his troops, for by now the Hindu confidence was shaken, he had himself lifted on to a "rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls, from whence he distributed money, gold, and jewels

19. Ferishta, quoted in Longhurst, A. H., *Hampi Ruins*, Calcutta 1925, p. 22.

20. See Basu, K. K. "The Battle of Talikota—Before and After (from Muslim Sources)" in *Vijayanagara Volume* (*op.cit.*), pp. 245-254 *passim*., (translated from *Busutin-us-Salatin* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi who prefers the account of Rafiuddin Shirazi to Qassim Ferishta).

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to those of his followers who acquitted themselves well."[21] Finally, remounting his litter, he ordered his vast forces to surge toward the crowd of 2000 Muslim archers on the field. But behind the archers were three lines of modern ordnance; there were heavy cannons in front, then smaller artillery; and behind those an array of light swivel guns. Coming in at close quarters, the Hindus were suddenly blasted with a murderous fusillade; for the heavy cannons of the Sultans had been loaded with bags of copper coins. 5000 Hindus fell in this disastrous barrage, and the Muslim troops surged into their shattered ranks. At this point, we read, one of the enemy's armed elephants, "wild with the excitement of battle, dashed forward towards him, and the litter-bearers let fall their precious burden in terror at the animal's approach. Before he had time to recover himself and mount a horse, a body of the (Muslim forces) was upon him, and he was seized and taken prisoner."[22]

Rāmarāya was immediately conducted to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, one of the chiefs of the Muslim alliance. The Sultan, only too glad to avenge an old affront, immediately ordered that the Hindu sovereign be decapitated, and that his head be elevated on a long spear, so that it could be visible to the Hindu troops, now already in panic. At this they broke rank and fled. "They were pursued", according to one account, "with such successful slaughter that the river which ran near the field was dyed red with their blood. It is computed on the best authorities that above 100,000 (soldiers) were slain in fight and during the pursuit."[23] "The whole land for miles together" says the Busutin-us-Salatin, following the narrative of Rafiuddin Shirazi, "became red as scarlet by the blood of the slain."[24]

The Hindus dashed back to their capital where the rout was completed; for with no effective leadership, little attempt was made to defend the city even though, as we have seen, it was strongly fortified. "The plunder" we read, "was so great that every private man in the allied (Muslim) army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves; as the sultans

21. Ferishta, quoted in Sewell, p. 204.
22. Sewell, p. 204-205, following Ferishta's account.
23. Ferishta, quoted in Sewell, p. 205.
24. See Basu, K. K., p. 253.

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left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use."[25]

The hatred of the Deccan Muslims for the Vijayanagara Hindus and for their heirs was a hatred which did not easily recede, and only contributed to that almost traditional distrust and misunderstanding which still exists between the Muslims and Hindus today.

In an account of 1829, by which time even the contracted remnants of the Vijayanagara dynasty had long since fallen to Mughal and Mahratta and English power, and the ancient city of its kings had long since suffered the desolation which its shattered walls and temples so poignantly record today, we read that "the real head of (Rāmarāya), annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious (Muslims) of Ahmadnuggur, on the anniversary of the battle (of Tālikota) for the last 250 years, by the descendants of the executioner, in whose hands it has remained till the present period."[26]

At this same time—although one trusts it is no longer there today–a stone-carved version of Rāmarāya's head was to be seen in the old Muslim stronghold of Bījapūr, serving as the opening of one of the sewers within the town.[27]

Such is—and yet perhaps need not be—the fate of kings. And such, for who in India can forget the battle of Tālikota, can be the fate of cities, even those of the power and importance of Vijayanagara—the "City of Victory."

"....The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was a cataclysm.... They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins....where once the stately buildings stood. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city: teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruin...."[28]

25. Ferishta, quoted in Sewell, p. 205.

26. From an observation by Colonel Briggs, written in 1829, and quoted in Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 205-206, note 2.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Sewell, pp. 206-208, *passim*, following Ferishta and De Couto.

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Facts behind the Jaintia Rebellion, 1862-64

BY

H. K. Barpujari

The outbreak of the Syntengs or the Jayantias in the eastern frontier of British India following the great upheaval of 1857–58 posed a serious problem to the Government of India. The introduction of income–tax in early 1861, it was hitherto believed, was at the root of these uprisings. This was not an innovation; on the recommendation of W. J. Allen, Member Board of Revenue, in 1860 a house–tax was imposed on these mountaineers.[1] This was also stoutly opposed; Solomon, the *Tahsildar* was driven out and an outbreak followed, but the timely arrival of a regiment under Colonel Richardson, Officer Commanding at Cherrapunji, brought the situation under control.[2] The introduction of the income–tax in the following year confirmed the belief of these hillmen that the English were determined to fleece them. On 17 January 1862, the Syntengs numbering about six hundred made a surprise attack on the military guard at Jowai, burnt down the local Christian settlement and thereafter retired and stockaded their villages in the neighbourhood.[3] The protest against the tax soon developed into a war of liberation; the rebels openly demanded that 'they were to be exempted from taxation, their *Raja* was to be restored, troops and police withdrawn .....'[4]

The time was highly inopportune. Following the recommendation of Peel Commission, the strength of the 44th Native Infantry Battalion had in the meantime been considerably reduced, and what remained of the regiment was then scattered in a number

1. *Selection of Records*, Government of Bengal, Vol. XVII; Rowlatt to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 9 April 1862.
2. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal; 15 April 1862.
3. *Ibid.*, Richardson to Deputy Assistant General; 21 January 1862.
4. *Ibid.*, Haughton to Secretary, Government of Bengal; camp Oomki, 4 January 1863.

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of outlying detachments. On 25 January, E. A. Rowlatt, D. C. Khasi and Jaintia Hills, accompanied by a body of troops marched against the rebels, but the latter dispersed without offering any resistance.[5] The villages of Jowai, Amwai, Nurteng were occupied, stockades were demolished and granaries destroyed. A few villagers on the west came in, but those in the east, 'the leaders of the insurrection', remained as violent as ever.[6] Considering the situation rather serious, on 28 March, in supersession of the authority of the Commissioner of Assam, the Government of India placed Brigadier-General G. D. Showers of the Eastern Command in exclusive Civil and Military Administration of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.[7]

Already harassed by repeated incursions of the Nagas, the Garos and the Abors, the authorities in Calcutta wanted to avoid full-scale operation against the rebels; they were even inclined to remove the grievances which had occasioned the outbreak. Authentic information as to the causes or grievances, supposed or real were lacking. 'Numerous opinions have been formed and recorded, but mostly of conflicting nature and rest rather on rumour or hearsay than on that which alone can be regarded as a reliable foundation—the statement of the rebel themselves.[8] Lieutenant Colonel J. C. Haughton, officiating Agent to the Governor-General, after collecting evidence from all available sources summarised the causes as follows:

'Taxation was introduced without the supervision which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation, and rumours of other taxes .... which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise, such

5. *Ibid.*, Rowlatt to Hopkinson, 4 March 1862.

6. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 15 April 1862.

* The territory was placed after its annexation under Major Lister, Political Agent K. & J. Hills. On the retirement of the latter in 1854, it was retransferred to the charge of the Commissioner of Assam and under his supervision. C. K. Hudson and later E. A. Rowlatt discharged the duties of the Deputy Commissioner.

7. *Ibid.*, Grey to Lushington, 28 March 1862.

8. Assam Commissioner, 1862; File No. 440, Secretary, Government of Bengal, on board *'Rotas'*, 8 September 1862.

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might have resulted from the continued presence of an European officer.'[9]

Haughton believed that the people in general could pay the tax, for the incidence of taxation was not very high. But he himself admitted that the introduction of such a tax on a people who could furnish no accurate account of their income was unwise and inexpedient; 'the tax practically became one on property and not on income' and it was exacted from many who should have been exempted in the spirit of the Section 130 of the Income-tax Act.[10] Rumours of increased taxation were not only current in the hills, but 'imposts of one sort or another were, infact, appearing like mushrooms'.[11] In 1860, judicial stamps were introduced and, before long, fisheries which were, hitherto, exempted brought under assessment. In the same year, on the suggestion of the Sadar Board the right to cut timber in certain areas were sold out to the highest bidder; inevitably, the privileges of the villagers of cutting timber, thatch, fuel, bamboo, etc. were stopped. Even petty holdings occupied by squatters in certain localities were taxed.[12] The total amount realised from all these sources were trivial; but introduction of too many taxes so closely one after another could not but produce irritation and resentment of a people who had never been subjected to such taxation.

'It appears doubtful', Brigadier Showers also remarks, 'whether the feelings of the people would have broken out into open violence unless they had been aggravated by acts of Local Authorities.'[13] Allegations of venality, oppression and corruption on the part of the minor officials at the Cherra Court, to which these hillmen had to resort to, was common. With few exceptions, they (Syntengs) did not know a word of the court language and all, as ignorant of laws, entirely dependent on and at the mercy of the

9. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 15 April 1862.

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native officials who did not hesitate to grow rich at their expense.[14] The people used to say 'we can do nothing, every case is lost unless we give bribes'. Even Dodon, the *doloi* of Jowai, complained that in order to ensure his office he had to pay Rs. 500 to the *muktear* of Inglis, son-in-law of the then Political Agent, a gold *mohur* to Solomon, the interpreter, and rupees fifteen to Rammohan, the treasurer.[15]

However conscientious and zealous the Deputy Commissioner might be, in the midst of his multifarious duties he could hardly afford to give personal attention to which these hillmen were accustomed hitherto. Rowlatt, the D.C., was so much preoccupied in the supervision of the Shillong-Gauhati road, which was then under construction, that he had little time to devote himself to the redress of their grievances.[16] On the otherhand he carried out certain measures which aggravated the situation. In 1860, soon after the outbreak, he partially disarmed the people by confiscating their shields and swords. To these heirlooms, the syntengs attached considerable importance; for these they required not only for their *pujas* and ceremonial occasions, but for protection in a country teemed with wild animals. They were greatly offended when they found that their swords were sold out or broken up while their shields burnt in their very presence. About this time, Rowlatt also issued a summary order asking the people of Jowai to burn their dead in future not on the old site near the outpost, but at a distance from the village and any infringement thereof would be severely dealt with.[17]

14. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to Secretary, Government of Bengal, 9 March; *see* Rev. Jons, T.; *A few hints on the origin and causes of the Jyntea rebellion.*

15. *Ibid.*, 'It is highest degree probable' Haughton also remarks, 'that the Bengali *Omlah* and *Muktear* would take advantage of such occasion to make money and would make the parties believe that their European superiors participated in the transaction.'

16. *Ibid.*, Haughton held that D.C. was mainly responsible for the outbreak. If he had been at his headquarters throughout or devoted more of his attention to the affairs of Jayantia when he thought it to be in a disturbed state no rebellion would have occurred.

17. *Ibid.*, It appears from official returns 588 shields, 475 swords, 14 guns and several spears were confiscated and destroyed.

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In fact the location of the military outpost in the heart of the village was highly obnoxious to the people. They found that a large number of their women had been enticed to run away with the sepoys were allowed to remain so near to them.[18] No sooner was the outpost established a school also came up and the missionaries began making converts. The syntengs were told that they would soon have to give up their old *pujas* and must be Christians; that parents not sending their children to schools and any one worshipping or divining according to old usage would be fined.[19] That the rebels had animosities against the missionaries is borne out by the fact that the Christian village nearabout Jowai was burnt to the ground at the very commencement of the outbreak.

On the alleged guilt of the ex-Raja Rajendra Sing, it may be mentioned here, for the murder of two British subjects, in March 1835, the territory of Jayantia was incorporated into the British dominion. This was looked upon 'as an act of treachery' by the Syntengs.[20] It was not so much annexation as the manner of its implementation that embittered the feelings of these hillmen against the British. Major Lister, Political Agent, Khasi Hills, not only assumed charge of the territory but also seized personal effects of the Raja—elephants, guns, apparel not sparing even his cooking pots.[21] From his asylum at Sylhet, Rajendra Singh poured in representations one after another for a reconsideration of his case and restoration of his territory, but these bore no fruit.[22] To win good will of the British, on the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, the chief volunteered his services with a contingent of 2500 to fight against the mutinous sepoys of northern India; this was not only rejected but the ex-Raja was kept under surveillance

18. *Ibid.*, Jones, T., *A few hints on the origin and causes of Jyntea rebellion.*

19. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 15 April 1862.

20. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Foreign Proceedings, Political*, 1836, 1 August, No. 110; 27 September, 1841, No. 118.

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lest he might carry intrigues with anti-British elements in the hills.[23] Rowlett suspected that the ex-Raja had a secret hand in the outbreak. The fact—that a substantial section of the syntengs represented on the introduction of the house tax in 1860 that if they were to be taxed it might be through their own chief, and that the outbreak occurred soon after the petition was turned down-proved to some extent ex-Raja's complicity in the outbreak.[24]

It is, however, doubtful if the rebels were sincerely desirous of having the ex-Raja or his heirs; not infrequently they affronted the *Kuwars* (heirs) and told them plainly that if they wanted a Raja it would be of their own choice.[25] The opposition of a number of subordinate chiefs, in fact, rendered the position of the ex-Raja so shaky that he had no alternative but to submit to the inevitable. On the otherhand the *dolois* and the *sardars* who had hitherto, exerted considerable influence in the State, could hardly reconcile themselves to the rule of the English who had not only annexed the territory without their consent but deprived them of the power and privileges which they enjoyed from ancient times.[26] They found their position greatly lowered in presence of a *daroga* in their midst to whom the aggrieved invariably lodged their complaints.[27] They were hard hit by recent taxation and what was the guarantee that further taxation would not follow. The *Raj* land which they held rent-free, it was rumoured, would

23. . *Foreign Proceedings, Political,* 1857; 13 November, Nos. 138-42. Allen to Young 21 August; *see* Raja of Jayanti to Secretary Government of Bengal, 16 September.

24. *Op. cit.,* Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

*The territory was divided into nineteen *elakas* or divisions; of these, thirteen were under the authority of *dolois* and the rest managed by village heads called *sardars.* The Raja was a figurehead; the actual authority was exercised by the *dolois* of Jowai and Nurteng.

27. Allen, W. J., *The report on the Administration of the Cossya Jynteah Hill Territory* (1941 edition), paras 244 and 260.

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soon pass under the control of Government and brought under assessment.[28] Worst of all, like others, they were now entirely at the mercy of petty officials of the court without whose support they could not expect to hold office even though elected by their own people.[29] Without restoration of the former regime, though not of the ex-Raja, instinctively they felt there was no future for them. Raja Ram Singh of Cherra who acted as a mediator on behalf of the British reported the sentiment of the rebel chiefs as follows:

'I met at Mobookhon Ooking Nungba of Jowai, Ookma Lingdo.....*Dolloyes* of Shamphong and Nungjungi. About 500 or 600 attended the *Durbar*, Ooking Nungba who has been elected rebel *Lushkar* (headman) was the spokesman. He said that if the *Raj* was restored and the hills relinquished by Government, the rebels would make friends; but that they wished neither to see nor have anything to do with Government. He assigned as his reason for saying so that their *puja* had been interfered with. He referred also to Government having ..... taken the guns and wealth belonging to the Raja of Jynteeahpore. Also that in Mr. Scott's time the Jynteeahs had made roads through their territory on the understanding that the country would not be annexed by Government."[30]

The *dolois* and the *sarders*, thus, took initiative in the movement with the avowed object of driving the hated *dykhai* (foreigners) from the hills. Brisk preparations they made for the war of liberation by collecting arms, erecting stockades, storing up grains and sending emissaries for aid even to Burma.[31] They

28. *Op. cit.*, Haugton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

29. *Ibid.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 4 February, 1863.

30. *Ibid.*, Eden to Morton, 9 October 1862; *see* statement made by Ramsing, Raja of Cherra, at Jowai.

31. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July, 1863.

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sedulously instilled in the minds of the people that in the event of their defeat, the males would be doomed to perpeutal slavery and the women consigned to the tender mercies of the soldiers. To the last they resolved to fight and in the event of failure they would quit the territory.

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Indian National Congress*
The Formative Years

STRUGGLE FOR UNITED FRONT

BY

P. N. CHOPRA

It will be interesting to recall that even in the first Congress there was some talk of representative government; Narendranath Sen of the '*Indian Mirror*' suggested that "a standing committee of the House of Commons would be good if we had our representatives in the House." As an alternative he proposed "there might be a small Parliament in India with many Indian members. Indian political bodies should be asked to name such members and also to have a voice in the formation of the existing executive councils".[1] The idea of boycott of British goods was at least hinted at in the first Congress by Girijabhushan Mookerjee who suggested "if goods were available in their own market, why should the poor go to a foreign country and pay a much high price for the imported goods."[2]

The proceedings of the first Congress, it may be added, were conducted in private and were, consequently, criticised by several papers including the *Bombay Samachar*.[3] However, this session left a deep mark on the political life of the country. The resolutions which were passed at the first Congress were widely circulated throughout the country. Public meetings and meetings of the existing associations were held where these resolutions were discussed and in most cases they were unanimously adopted.[4] The Bombay Correspondent of the *Times Weekly Edition*, how-

*Part I was published in Vol. L, Part II of the Journal (pp. 389-414).

1. *Proceedings: First Indian National Congress Session* 1880-85, p. 36.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
3. *Report on Native Newspapers—Bombay and Berar*, January-June 1886, p. 7.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

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ever, referred to the absence of "Mahomedans of India" from the representative assembly and added: "They (Muslims) remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than 2 centuries ago, they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax-paying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam. But inspite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, there was a great representative meeting last week". K. T. Telang, however, refuted the Times Correspondent's remarks about the complete absence of Muslim representatives from the Congress, and mentioned the names of two leading Muslims—R. M. Sayani and A. M. Dharamsi.[5]

Mrs. Annie Besant thus commented on the first Congress:

> "The first Congress dissolved, leaving a happy and inspiring memory of fine work done, and unity demonstrated. India had found her voice. India was realising herself as a Nation. Strange and menacing was the portent in the eyes of some, splendid and full of hope in the eyes of others. The rosy fingers of dawn-maidens had touched the Indian skies. When would her Sun of Freedom rise to irradiate the Motherland".[6]

The Congress made rapid progress and within a year of its existence became well-known throughout the country. It came to be looked upon even in those early days as an "institution which is destined to play a very important part in the political history of our country". *The Statesman* pointed out that the Congress "has been looked forward to with deep interest throughout the year".

As the date for the second Session to be held at Calcutta approached, the leading papers of the country put forth their

5 *Extract from Appendix C and D of the official Congress Report*, 1885.
6. Dutt, K. Iswara: *Congress Encyclopaedia*, Volume I, p. 15.

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views on the burning problems of the day for consideration of the Congress. *The Kesari*, for example, while expressing satisfaction at the progress made by the Congress in its first year referred to the "misgivings expressed by some people last year about the chances of communities of different creeds and castes forming a united body", and suggested the appointment of a committee by the Congress consisting of representatives from the different Presidencies to prepare answers to the questions of the Public Service Commission after taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of all the Provinces. These were to serve as guides to the witnesses who might appear before the Commission. *The Mahratta* of December 19, 1886 urged the Congress to "make it its first duty to impress upon the Government of India, the absolute necessity for the reform and expansion of the supreme and local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members and for that it should give some concrete suggestions. *The Express* while advising moderation by the Congress in its deliberations and demands wrote "the present native Congress has many important subjects to deal with and no true friend of India can, we think, in any just or right spirit, either ridicule or condemn the conviction of such a representative assembly".[7]

The second Congress met in the Town Hall in Calcutta with Dadabhai Naoroji as President and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, "more a scholar than a politician",[8] as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Calcutta Congress was a bigger affair and the number of delegates also rose to 436.[9] A. C. Mazumdar in his *Indian National Evolution* and Andrews and Girija Mookerji in *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* wrongly put the number of delegates to 406 and 412 respectively. Badruddin, however, mentioned it as 440 in his presidential address at the Madras Session. The procedure adopted for the election of the delegates was interesting. According to the *Congress Report*, "any town any of whose inhabitants felt interested in the question, held a public

7. *Report of the Proceedings of the Indian National Congress* (1886-91), p. 159.
8. Bannerjea, S. N.: *A Nation in Making*, p. 102.
9. *Proceedings of Indian National Congress* (1886-91), p. 140.

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meeting.....and thereat elected those men who were looked up as leaders. Again any association that deserved to be represented, called a general meeting, and thereat elected one or more of its leading members....Anyone who wanted to be represented could be represented but no one troubled about those who did not themselves come forward".

Surendranath was also won over to the Congress by Hume who, if we are to believe B. C. Pal,[10] had found it impossible to enlist the "sympathies and active co-operation of politically-minded and educated Bengalis if Surendranath was left out of the counsels of the Congress". That Surendranath Banerjea had fully aligned himself with the Congress is further corroborated by Austin Rattray in his article on the Indian National Congress which was published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (Jan.-April, 1889). Excepting the Mohammedan Association of Bengal which kept aloof, all other parties joined hands to welcome the delegates.[11] "What was remarkable", writes Surendranath Banerjea "is the British Indian Association representing the landed interests of what I may call the conservative conscience of the community threw themselves heart and soul in the matter. Such enthusiasm this venerable body has never since displayed in the Congress cause".[12]

Commenting on the second Congress N. G. Chandavarkar, wrote in the Anglo-Maratha Weekly *Indu Prakash* thus: "The second National Congress of India has come and gone and it has been, by all who either witnessed it in Calcutta or watched its proceedings from elsewhere, declared a success. The general verdict seems to be that it passed off admirably well. The attempt of the Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif Khan to keep the Mahommedans away from it threatened at first sight to make a success. Indeed when Mahomedan delegates arrived from other parts of India, they were got at and asked not to put in their appearance at the Congress." "The Hindus are ahead of us. We are lagging behind; we gain nothing by joining them."

10. Pal, B. C., *Memories of My Life and Time*, Vol. II, (1886-1900, p. 114.

11. *"The Express"*, *Proceedings of Indian National Congress* (1886-91), p. 159.

12. Bannerjea, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 101.

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This was the plea urged for the conversion of our Mahomedan colleagues but to their credit be it said, like good men and true, they stood firmly by their cherished conviction that the best policy was to make common cause with the Hindus and Parsees. They regularly attended the meetings, watched the proceedings as closely as the other delegates; and in their speeches showed an amount of good-will and confidence which might well afford an example to others.[12a]

A Bombay delegate said: "This second Congress has far surpassed the first in point of strength and publicity. We at Bombay sat more as a private conference and shut out the public from witnessing our proceedings. Again, being the first of its kind, we were not so overpoweringly strong in numbers....the demonstrations which have accompanied its sitting here, have attracted greater notice and the work done has been of a more practical character. The first Congress formulated abstract principles of great pith and moment. The second Congress chalked out a line of action on those principles". It was at this session that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made his appearance for the first time and made a lasting impression on the audience.

The meeting of the National Congress at Calcutta was noticed with great enthusiasm and was regarded, according to Official Reports, as a proof of the increasing political activity and consolidation of the people of India. Public meetings were held particularly in important towns of the Punjab and N.W.F.P. where the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress were discussed and passed.[13]

Dufferin's views on the second Congress are interesting. He wrote:

"On the whole the meeting of the Indian National Congress has had good effect, though not exactly in the direction its promoters anticipated. In the first place, it has given us in some degree the intellectual measure of these gentlemen and has

12a. *Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II (1885-1900) p. 34, published by Govt. of Bombay.

13. *Home-Public*. March 18, 1888 No. 4404. The towns were Gujranwala, Lahore, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Dehra Ismail Khan, etc.

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enabled us to gauge their practical wisdom.....I think they are far more able and respectable in their individual capacity than as members of a rather hysterical assembly, in which the more violent and silly of their numbers rule the roost. On the other hand, their extravagant pretensions as embodied in their resolutions, have aroused the opposition and indignation both of the Mahomedan community and of the conservative section of the society which is both large and influential. Indeed for the first time in the recent history of educated India, a conservative party has come into obvious existence. But the most remarkable change of all is the tone of the Native Press, which ever since my speech in Poona has become extremely mild and reasonable."

Dufferin thought that the "character of their discussions was very childish and reminded the auditor rather of the Eton or Harrow Debating Society than even of the Oxford or Cambridge Union". The Secretary of State (Cross) did not seem to agree with Dufferin's favourable assessment of the Calcutta Session. He referred to the resolutions passed at the session as "most advanced and at the same time of impractical character". He was not happy with the Viceroy about his suggestion for making some appointments and added "if any such appointments as you suggest, are to be allowed, they must be made by the English Government after consultation, if you like, but by the Government by selection not by election".[13a]

At Madras, the Congress had its first Muslim President in the person of Badruddin Tyabji.[14] The Reception Committee had Sir Madhava Rao as Chairman who described the Congress as "the soundest triumph of British Administration and a crown of glory for British Nation".[15] The number of delegates rose to 607 (250 hailed from outside the Presidency besides several distinguished visitors). "Though the first flush of enthusiasm", writes Surendranath Banerjea while describing the Madras session, "had died out (and to many it may seem that the Congress is now sailing over uncharted seas) the public conviction remains unabated that the Congress must continue its work until India

13a. Cross to Dufferin, Feb. 23, 1887.
14. For his life and work, refer to Husain Tyabji, *Badruddin Tyabji.*
15. *Proceedings of Indian National Congress* 1886-91, pp. 67-69.

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had achieved her destiny as a self-governing community".[16] The Governor of Madras reported that Congress leaders seemed "very loyal and harmless sort of people" and the Viceroy agreed. He was fully convinced of the loyalty of the educated classes for the matter of the Congress to Her Majesty, the Queen. They believed it would be disastrous for them if the English rule in India was replaced by any other power.[17] The Presidential Addresses of Dadabhai Naoroji in 1886 and Tyabji in 1887 justified this assessment. Naoroji spoke of India's good fortune in being under the British rule which alone enabled the Congress to meet and Tyabji said that the educated Indians were in their "own interest", the best supporters of the British Government in India. When the Maharaja of Mysore subscribed to Congress funds, he was informed that it was not desirable for the princes to interest themselves in political activities outside their States; but the Viceroy added that the Government had no objection to subscriptions being paid by any one living in British India. That this was not inspired by animus against the Congress was proved later by his censure of the Nizam for contributing to anti-Congress funds.[18] The circular described the Congress as "an advanced liberal party" perfectly legitimate in which private persons are free to participate.

It was at the Madras session (1887) that a representative committee latter on known as the Subjects Committee was appointed at the suggestion of Bipin Chandra Pal for settling the programme of work and drafting resolutions for the consideration of the session.[19] A beginning was also made for drawing up a constitution for the Congress and a committee of 34 persons was set up for this purpose.[20] Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra, the mover of the resolution and Mr. Karandikar were later on added.[21]

16. Bannerjea, S. N. *op. cit.*, p. 193.
17. Dufferin to the Queen, 31 March, 1887. Dufferin Papers, Reel 516;
18. Note of Dufferin, 27th December, 1887. Dufferin Papers, Reel 532; Dufferin to Cross, 8th October, 1888.
19. Pal, B. C., *My Life and Times*, Vol. II, pp. 40-41. For the names of the members of the first committee, refer to *Proceedings of Indian National Congress* 1886-91, p. 76.
20. *Proceedings of Indian National Congress* (1886-1891), p. 77.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-82.

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Moving the resolution Dr. T. N. Mitra declared, "a constitutional assembly without a constitution is a sort of misnomer and inconsistency and it may be a logical absurdity. Therefore, we are, it seems to me, to have some rules as to who our delegates are to be, how they are to be elected and how certified to. We ought to have some rules as to the procedure to be followed in this assembly and as to other similar matters".[22] It may, however be added "that it was not before 20 years that a constitution for the Congress could be drawn up. The Indian Social Conference was also started in 1887 mainly under the influence of M. G. Ranade. The Conference was held immediately after the session of the Congress at the same place.[23]

The leaders of the Congress soon became dissatisfied with merely passing resolutions once a year. The authorities did not seem to be in a mood to grant any concessions. In fact Earl of Northbrough wrote to Dufferin on February 4, 1887 regarding the demand of the Congress for the extension of the functions of the Legislative Councils. He thought it to be very objectionable and said;

"You may not know that the present Council's Act was framed by Sir C. Wood in communication with Lord Canning in order, among other things to get rid of the trouble which was given to the Government of India by the Legislative Councils with its old rules admitting questions to be put up etc."[23a] Hume became convinced that the "platonic expressions of sympathy by the authorities were a mockery while nothing practical was being done to lessen the "misery of the masses" and to redress their grievances, he decided to put more vigour and dynamism into the movement. In a pamphlet entitled "The Old Man's Hope", Hume made an impassioned appeal to the Englishmen to save the "debt-laden and despairing peasantry from the ravages of famine and disease."[24] According to Hume, the sufferings of the Indian people from famine and disease were mainly due to poverty which was preventible, "if the Government would take into their

22. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
23. Karve. D. S., *Ranade: The Prophet of India*, p. XXXVII.
23a. *Dufferin Papers*, National Archives of India, Letter No. 35.
24. Wedderburn, *Allan Octavian Hume*, p. 61.

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counsels experienced representatives of the people who know exactly where the shoe pinches."[25] As the Government had failed to move in the matter, there was no alternative but to "adopt measures of exceptional vigour following the drastic methods pursued in England by Bright and Cobden in their great campaign on behalf of the peoples' good."[26] The Government had refused to follow their friendly advice and "it will now be for us," he declared, "to instruct the nations, the great English nation in its island home and the far greater nation of this vast continent; so that every Indian that breathes upon the sacred soil of this our Motherland may become our comrade and coadjutor, our supporter and if needs be our soldier in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble hand, will wage for justice, for our liberties and rights." The propaganda became all the more essential due to the open hostility of a section of the Muslim Community led by Sir Syed Ahmad who was violently opposed to the Congress and who "lent himself willingly to the official manoeuvres to create a counter movement to the Congress."[27] He had already arranged the Muhammadan Educational Conference which held simultaneous sittings with the Congress in 1887,[28] and next year launched a "Patriotic Association" as a counter blast to the Congress.[29]

The Congress was opposed by some of the Arya Samajist leaders of the Punjab for completely different reasons. They thought that the Congress was founded by a few Englishmen to provide "an innocuous occupation for the intelligentsia lest they should organise a strong political movement aimed at England's supremacy." Arya Samajists generally shared the views of one of their leaders, Rai Mul Raj (of the Punjab), that "Indians should make themselves stronger by education, by the spread of swadeshi, by smuggling of arms and then bid their time till they might be strong enough to turn out the English. They further believed that the political agitation would make the British

25. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
27. Zacharias, H. C. E.: *Renascent India*, p. 120.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*

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suspicious of the Hindus and they, therefore, would not only obstruct the progress of the Hindus but harm them in all possible ways".[30] There were misgivings about the aims and objects of the Congress in other circles also. The biographer of Dadabhai writes: "The Growth of the infant Hercules had alarmed officialdom. To the Anglo-Indian Community also it seemed to spell subversion of the established order of things and some Parsis and Muhammadans too, took fright at the outcry that the Congress aimed at transferring the Government of India from the Crown to a native Parliament". In other words, it was made out to be the substitution of Hindu for British Raj.[31] Hume could not allow the child of his creation to be strangled by misrepresentation by Imperialists and Communalists when it was still in its infancy. It was at this critical juncture in the growth of the Congress when it had become a target of attack from all sides that Hume, the father of the Congress, decided to explain the origin, aims and objects of this organisation to the millions "that inhabit this sub-continent and who had to be in the vanguard of any political movement, if ever was it to succeed". In pursuance of such a propaganda Mr. Hume set to work, as his biographer tells us, "with his wonted energy, appealing for funds to all classes of Indian Community, distributing tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets, sending out lectures and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts."[32] More than a thousand meetings were thus held, at many of which over five thousand persons were present.[33] Thousands of copies of the two remarkable pamphlets entitled "A Congress Catechism" (in Tamil) by Vira Raghavachariar of Madras and "A Conversation between Maulvi Farīd-ud-Dīn and one Ram Buksh of Kambakatpur".[34] In the former pamphlet, 30,000 copies of which were distributed, it was asserted that "it is only natural that those amongst the officials who are not high-minded should feel annoyed at a movement which will tend to curtail their arbitrary power, and

30. Lajpat Rai, *The Story of My Life*, Autobiographical writings, edited by V. C. Joshi, p. 88.
31. Masani, R. P.: *Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 202.
32. Wedderburn, *op. cit.* p. 63.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Both these pamphlets were appended to the *Proceedings of the Madras Congress Session* 1887.

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generally to compel them to consult the wishes and feelings of the people a great deal more than they do now." It further said, "Nor do English officials in India even report to the members of Parliament what we know the true state of this country and never have the intimate knowledge of its affairs that we possess. In the second place they necessarily believe that all they do is right; and that it is done in the best possible manner; and lastly they not unnaturally desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers, and this will certainly follow if the English public come really to understand how matters at the present time really stand."[35] It was translated in many Indian languages and freely distributed. The latter pamphlet related by a parable the evils of absentee landordism, and said that "the way to escape the tyranny of a despotic Government is to seek a representative one such as that for which the Congress was contending."[36]

Hume also published two more pamphlets entitled "Star of the East" and "An Old Man's Hope". In the latter, Hume assumes the role of an old man who had been entrusted by an old devotional lady to bring up her only child (Indian National Congress). He would get his reward, if not in this world, assuredly in the next world. After 5 years the old man presented the old lady with a healthy child and explained that the credit for it should go to its loving uncle (Digby) and its God-father (Bradlaugh). About these, Lajpat Rai writes: "I have yet to come across in Congress literature another set of pamphlets as good as these. The wave of liberty surged through pages and they impressed me profoundly".[37]

The Government was alarmed at the activities of the educated youngmen who toured the length and breadth of the country, sometimes under the guise of ascetics, to enlighten the masses about the aims and objectives of the Congress.[38] They even took recourse

35. *The Indian National Congress* (1888)—Tamil.
36. Masani, R. P.: *Op. cit.*, p. 202.
37. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
38. *The Cow Agitation or the Mutiny-Plasm in India* (Reprinted from the Nineteenth Century, April 1894)—views and observations—a selection of articles by Hon'ble Raja Udai Pratap Singh, Raja of Bhimga, Calcutta, 1907, p. 59.

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to the establishment of 'Cow Protection Societies' and under its guise, to quote a contemporary Raja Udai Pratap Singh of Bhimga, preached sedition—the advantages of monopolising the public services, the aggressive character of the foreign rule, and the inhumanity of the English officials. The Congress propaganda seemed to have had great effect on the masses even in these early years. The loyal supporters of the British Government, felt greatly alarmed and advised the Government not to accede to the Congress demand for enrolment of 'native volunteers'. They predicted that the 'native' army would be disaffected and they would have to depend on British soldiers alone. Such was the effect of the propaganda, the Raja admitted, that "every European who enters the Indian Civil Service is vaunted as an assassin, while every native who evinces any mark of loyalty towards the British Government is publicly proclaimed a felon."

A contemporary Englishman Beck criticized the very constitution of the Congress and said "It was bound to foster a spirit of discontent and mutiny to the people; that a Grievance Hall as a permanent institution, would be like a running sore bringing all kinds of aches and pains to the body politic and that the delegate system based as it was on popular support and popular discontent was bound to encourage a kind of public-speaking and literature, the subject of which would be to picture in glowing colours, the injustice of Government. And this, however, strong and however loyal the hands that controlled the movement, however much they might wish not to influence discontent among the ignorant, it would be practically impossible to prevent the National Congress its ramifications for becoming deadly engine of sedition."[39] These pamphlets were,[40] as a cursory perusal will show, very outspoken and it is surprising how they were tolerated by the authorities in those days. Mazumdar's reference to them in his book, *Indian National Evolution* as "a few perfectly harmless leaflets"[41] is far from true when we study them from, an established Government's point of view and also when we remember the latter-day persecutions of

39. Witkins, *Indian National Congress*, pp. 67-93.
40. For these pamphlets, refer to *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), pp. 199-214.
41. Mazumdar, A. C.: *Indian National Evolution*, p. 72.

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newspaper editors and other writers on far trivial matters. Hume himself never defended them on this ground, even when Colvin, Governor of N. W. P. contended that 'these pamphlets excited hatred against the Government'. His reply was that, "nothing was to be gained by ignoring the notorious practical grievances felt by the peasantry." Hume, however, made it clear that they never preached sedition. "The people are taught to recognise the many benefits that they owe to British rule", he explained at a public meeting, "as also the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country..... The sin of illegal or anarchical proceedings are brought home to them and the conviction is engendered not by united, patient constitutional agitation they are certain ultimately to obtain all they can reasonably ask for, while by any recourse to hasty or violent action they must inevitably ruin their cause and entail endless misery on themselves." Hundreds of public meetings were organised to propagate the Congress cause.

Pamphleteering was not, however, the sole sin of the Congress. Special efforts were made by its leaders to induce the Muhammadans to join the Congress. The appeal made by Badruddin Tyabji as President of the Madras Session to his co-religionists was followed by active propaganda in Urdu all over the country. A Muslim named Ali Bhimji toured the districts of U.P. enlisting Muslim support.[42] Lajpat Rai invited him to Hissar (in the Punjab) where he addressed a large public meeting.[43] This was a real danger in the eyes of bureaucracy, more unnerving than all the patriotic force of all the Congress speakers and writers. How could the Government sit with folded hands when they saw good Muslims falling lightly into the Congress 'trap'? Official and non-official influences were, therefore, at work to make the Muslim subjects of the crown see through the 'seditious' movement and to inflame the whole community against the attempt to introduce a Hindu Raj fatal to its interests.[44] Efforts were made to sow

42. *Aligarh Institute Gazetteer*, December 13, 1888, *Report of National Congress Papers* (1871-1897), p. 687.

43. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

44. *Masani*, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

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dissension among Hindus and Muslims. It was pointed out by Beck and others that 'popular rule' meant the rule of the Hindu majority. Prof. Beck of Aligarh took pains to emphasize that Hindus and Muslims did not form one nation. "Not less than the physical difference between the burning plains of Mecca and the snowy heights of Himalaya is the difference in thought and feeling between the Mahomedan and Hindu world". Beck ridiculed those who referred to the existence of a common national feeling among the peoples of India on the "opposition raised by Anglo-Indians to the Ilbert Bill, the ovation given to Lord Ripon, the protestations of loyalty at the time of the Russian crisis and least of all the mourning stated to have been general on the death of Keshub Chunder Sen." The resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress asking for representative institutions were considered impracticable. The insurmountable obstacles to their success were, "the ignorance of the peasantry, the absence of a class from which to select capable statesmen and legislators, the inability of a Parliament to control the army and the mixture of nationalists."[45]

The worst crime of the Congress, however, was the agitation carried on in England by Dadabhai in the name of the Congress, on behalf of the people of India. He had succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of a man like Sir William Hunter to the Congress cause. He had openly declared that the political forces represented by the Congress were so great that the British Government if it sought to thwart them, would break itself in the attempt. Ever since the inauguration of the Congress, Dadabhai had been pressing for the establishment of a political agency to represent officially the Congress in England. As the cost involved was too much for the infant organisation he volunteered in 1887 to act as Agent to the Congress without remuneration but even the funds for other expenses for propaganda could not be found. However, due to the energetic efforts of W. Digby, an office was set up in the Craven Street Strand in the following year. Vigorous campaign was carried out to arouse British interest and sympathies for the Congress movement in India. About its work, Masani writes: "The Agency freely circulated 10,000 copies of the report of the third Congress and many thousand copies of speeches and

45. Witkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-93.

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pamphlets among all newspapers in the United Kingdom, members of both Houses of Parliament, various political organisations and leading public men. Huge person posters, calling attention to Indian grievances were printed and put up throughout the United Kingdom and handbills were distributed at numerous meetings.[46] Excellent propaganda was thus carried on in England until the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was formed and associated with the agency in July 1889 under the chairmanship of Wedderburn, who retained that office until his death in January, 1918. It aroused the indignation of the die-hard conservatives, who found fault with the English education being imparted to the Indians. J. M. Maclean, said in an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly*, "The Indian schools and colleges which turn out year by year a never-ending supply of political agitators, cannot possibly be diverted to the purpose of teaching the natives to appreciate the advantages of living under British rule. Education quickens the intellectual faculties and stimulates ambitions and we are reaping its fruit in the desire for political independence....." He went on to quote the remarks of the historian Elphinstone when pointing to a pile of school boys, he said, "these will prepare the way for the downfall of English rule in India; but it is our duty to teach the people, nevertheless." The writer adds that "the accuracy of Elphinstone's prophecy is wide established and Sir John Gorst is only to give the people a little more education in order to succeed in educating the English out of India."[47]

From the time this propoganda was addressed to the masses, the official attitude which till then had been one of more or less friendly neutrality became distinctly antagonistic. And as a contemporary Englishman wrote about the Congress agitation: "The essential feature is that they do not confine their action to the educated classes but make every effort to extend it to the ignorant. Mass meetings are held and addressed by fiery orators, and inflamatory literature is circulated in the vernacular."[48] Dufferin wrote of Hume as "a mischievious busy-body whom Ripon had

46. Masani, *op. cit.*, p. 303.
47. *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April, 1889, Volume VII.—The article on "Home Rule Movement of India by J. M. Maclean.
48. Witkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-93.

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"rather petted....cleverish, a little crack, vain, and unscrupulous and I am told very careless about truth."[49]

For Anglo-Indians that was the most disastrous phase of the agitation. Already Gladstone had declared that the capital agent in finally determining the question whether the British power in India was or was not to continue, would be the will of the 240 millions of people who inhabited this country. "It would not do for us", he had warned his countrymen, to treat with indifference, "the rising aspirations of this great people."[50] There was a clamour in Anglo-Indian circles that the Congress should be checked from speaking on behalf of India and misleading the British people. British writers like J. M. Maclean pointed out to the Government that the organisation like the Congress should not be allowed to gather strength from year to year till it becomes a rival authority to that of the Executive Government. "It was time for the English statesmen to arouse themselves from their attitude of the benevolent neutralists towards the Congress before the masses of the Indian population fall a prey to the agents of the mischievous agitation. Nothing would be easier than to stop the meetings of the Congress at present; a few years hence, such a course would be too late. Let us have the courage to repudiate the pretence that we keep India merely for the benefits of the people of that country and in order to train them for self-Government. We keep it for the sake of the interest and the honour of England, and the only form of Government by which we can continue to hold it in subjection is that of disposition."[51]

In a paper entitled "In What Will it End", Professor Beck of Aligarh said: "As it is my belief that the agitation, of which the National Congress is the visible head, will if unchecked, sooner or later end in a mutiny, with its accompanying horrors and massacres, followed by a terrible retaliation on the part of the British Government bringing an absolute ruin for the Mussulmans, the Rajputs and other brave races and resulting in the retardation of all progress". Prof. Beck continued: "We had a sharp lesson in

49. Dufferin to Sir Henry Maine, 9th May, 1886, Dufferin Papers, Reel 525.

50. Masani, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

51. Maclean, J. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 432-33.

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1857 about the inadvisability of not studying the under-currents of thoughts in India as I fear that if we let the Bengali press and if the Congress agitation go on for another 10 or 20 years, we shall have as disagreeable an awakening as we had then." The officials, however, resorted to another device. In their opinion the best way to kill the Congress was to have countrywide demonstrations against it. There were the numerous Islamia Anjumans to take the lead. Besides, several anti-Congress organisations had already been set on foot specifically for the purpose. There was the United Indian Patriotic Association of which Sir Syed Ahmad was the Secretary; there was also the British Indian Association of Oudh, ready to "give the Congress a bad name and hang it." They all combined and organised public meetings[52] and hostile demonstrations in different parts of India denouncing the Congress and challenging its right to speak on behalf of the people of the country. They also issued tracts and pamphlets, subsidised journals and took special care to send anti-Congress literature to England for the information of Members of Parliament, English journals and the people of the United Kingdom. With funds lavishly placed in its hands, the so-called Patriotic Association was the most active in carrying on such agitation. It issued several pamphlets, one of which showing the seditious character of the Indian National Congress and the opinions held by eminent natives of India who were opposed to the movement. Theodore Beck was the editor. Among the contributors were some Rajahs who were "intellectually cyphers, unable to write a single page of good English." There were no doubt able men too such as Syed Ahmad and Syed Hussain Bilgrami but they were both tainted. On the list of opponents were the Nizam of Hyderabad, Nawab Sir Salar Jung, Nawab Abdul Majid Khan, Syed Amir Ali and Raja Amir Hussain.

Sir Syed Ahmad led a crusade against the Congress. He fully supported Beck in his efforts to break the Congress. He addressed a number of meetings and toured to impress upon Muhammadans that the Congress movement was "very injurious to their interests." He ridiculed the Congress demand for competitive examinations

52. Austin Rattary (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April 1889) refers to 50 such meetings organised by Muhammadans.

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for recruitment to services. It would mean that the Bengalis would be occupying higher posts in all parts of the country. He told the Muslims that equally injurious was the Congress demand for introduction of the system of elections. "Hindus now outnumber the Muhammedans by four members to one, by sheer majority. Even if the merit was to be the criterion, I say with a sore heart, to the whole nation there is no person who is equal to the Hindus in fitness for the work." Therefore, he advised them "to keep aloof from political uproar." It was harmful for their interests to "make friendships with the Bengalis in their mischievous political proposals."

There is an interesting letter from John Morley to Lord Minto, dated 11th October, 1906. He writes: "I asked Maclean, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, could he tell me of a nearly first class Mohammedan judge. No, not one. 2. Same question to Stephen, a judge in the same court. Same answer: not even first class Mohammedan barrister or pleader. Stephen also did not think Mohammedans, who came under notice of court, were a whit less addicted to perjury than Hindus themselves, were damnable. 3. Mac Mahon who has had plenty to do with Mohammedans thinks not well of them as an element in a state; they are absolutely more or less without any principle of reform in them; much more chance for the Hindus, heathens as they are, so said he."[52a] The *Aligarh Institute Gazetteer*, October 13, 1888 referred to a meeting of 5,000 Muslims at Jama-i-Masjid in Saharanpur which passed a resolution unanimously condemning the Congress. Some of the newspapers such as the *Punjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), *Qaisari* (Jullundhur) and the *Jubilee* (Lucknow) suppored Sir Syed Ahmed and asked the Muslims not to join the Congress. Bengalis who were in the vanguard of the movement came in for abuse. Nizam of Hyderabad gave a handsome donation to Sir Syed to work against the Congress.[53]

However, public meetings were held at Agra, Aligarh and other places supporting the Congress. It was pointed out that the "Congress's was perfecly loyal movement, that its aims and objects

52a. *Minto Papers:* in Philips. *op. cit.*, pp. 193-94.

53. Austin Rattary, "The Indian National Congress", in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April, 1889.

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were beneficial to all classes of the Indian population; and that the opponents were influenced by prejudice and selfish matters in their opposition to it."[54] Many other papers including *Nasim-i-Agra* laid stress on the loyalty of the Congress. "'Nothing could be more preposterous than to call the Congress a seditious movement."[55]

It was at this time that Lala Lajpat Rai, the veteran Congress Leader of the Punjab, addressed open letters to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. These letters appeared in an Urdu Weekly '*Kohi-nur*' of Lahore, and were later translated into English and published in the form of a pamphlet at the suggestion of Hume. In these letters Lajpat Rai showed how Syed Ahmad had gone back from all that he preached in his former days quoting copiously from his earlier writings. The author of these letters maintained that the Congress wanted to promote the same ideals which Sir Syed had advocated before the Congress was founded. He castigated the old man for the change in his views and asked him to explain his reasons for it. Lajpat Rai wrote "Times have changed and with them convictions! Flattery and official cajoleries have blinded the eyes of the most far-seeing; cowardice has depressed the souls of the foremost of seekers of truth and high-sounding titles and the favours of worldly Governors have extinguished the fire of truth in many a noble heart. Is it not a sad spectacle to see the men whose days numbered, whose feet are almost in the grave, trying to root out all the trees planted with their own hands!" Lajpat Rai quoted from Sir Syed Ahmad's book *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* wherein he had blamed the British Government for their indifference to the Indian public opinion. "There was no real communication between the Government and the governed," Sir Syed Ahmed had said. "No living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of Mohammedans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted the course without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained." Then Lajpat Rai asked Sir Syed Ahmad why he had thought it advisable to change his opinion. As regards his hostility to the Congress demand for a representation in the

54. Bharat Bandhu, Oct. 5, 1889, Aligarh.
55. *Report of Native Newspapers, Punjab, NWP, Oudh, etc.*, 1871-97.

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Legislative Councils of India, Lajpat Rai said, "Thirty years ago you (Sir Syed) had advocated the institution of a Parliament and yet chide us saying that we want an Indian Parliament, notwithstanding our protest that for the present and for a long time to come we do not claim any such thing. Mark the difference. India is no longer what it was 30 years ago. In the course of this period, it has made a marked advance towards a higher civilisation. The natives of India are no longer, with very few exceptions, ignorant or uneducated. The rays of education are penetrating and shedding their wholesome light into most Indian homes.... Can you in the face of all these facts still call us seditious?" He urged Sir Syed to confess that he had changed his political opinion and had become a loyal supporter of the Government. Lajpat Rai criticised the election of Raja Shiva Prashad and Sir Syed Ahmad to the Governor-General's Legislaive Council and said, "Can men, like Raja Shiva Prashad and yourself be properly considered as representatives of the people, and can the method of selection by which you are sent to the Council Chamber, be accepted as of any value? I think no reasonable man would contend that it would have been possible if Raja Shiva Prashad had been an elected representative of the people of India, for him to have libelled the whole Indian nation as he did in his notorious speech on the Ilbert Bill." Lajpat Rai pointed out to him that in his earlier utterances (e.g. the speech at Meerut and Gurdaspur, January 27, 1884) he had considered Hindus and Muslims as forming one nation. Lajpat Rai now chided him for changing his opinion. He ended with these remarks: "Anybody reading these extracts will, once for all, be convinced of the former loftiness and present lowness of your position. Foreigners reading these extracts will not believe that your now famous Meerut and Lucknow speeches were in reality delivered by the same Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was once proud of his broad-mindedness."

About the Congress, Sir Syed Ahmad expressed his views to Badruddin Tyabji in one of his letters, "I do not understand what the words "National Congress" mean? Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation or can become (one nation), and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible.... You regard the doings of the mis-named National Congress as beneficial to India

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but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large." Tyabji's reply was that the Congress was "nothing more and should be nothing more than an assembly of educated people from all parts of India and representing all races and creeds meeting together for the discussion of only such questions as may be generally admitted to concern the whole of India at large." "No one", said Tyabji, "regarded the whole of nation as one nation; but there were some questions which touched all communities or nations of India". Thus, it appears that Tyabji had also doubts about the oneness of the Indian nation. He elaborated it later "I would say to all Musalmans—act with your Hindu fellow-subjects in all matters in which you are agreed but oppose them as strongly as you can if they bring forward any propositions that you may deem prejudicial to yourselves".[56]

But Syed Ahmad was not willing to compromise with the Hindus under any circumstance. He publicly declared "Is it possible that under these circumstances, two nations—the Mohammaden and the Hindu—could sit on the same throne and remain equally in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable."[57]

About the attitude of the Muhammadans towards the National Congress there is an interesting letter from Sir W. H. George to Dufferin which is dated March 21, 1887. It reads:

"What you told me of the attitude of the Mahommedans in regard to public meetings exactly corroborates what I heard when I was in India and what I have written in my articles, namely that they see clearly that they had best stuck to us, as they would get scant favour from Baboo or Brahmin ascendancy and I have pointed out effects of a Brahmin ascendancy in Cashmere on a Mohamadan population.

56. *Tyabji papers*, National Archives of India.
57. Sir Syed Ahmad, *"The Present State of Indian Politics"*, Allahabad, 1888, p. 37.

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I quite agree that it would hardly be advisable to touch the press question, important almost vital as it is, so long as you have a weak Government in power, not before so long as Gladstone's influence is as overwhelming as it still is on all questions except that of the unity of the Empire. He knows nothing of India and in the case of subjects whereon he is ignorant, his ignorance is great indeed, but he is strongly committed to the freedom of the Indian press, he would be shouting in one corner and Ripon doing much unconscious mischief as he could in another denouncing any attempt to stifle Indian opinion. If a sober-minded statesman like Hartington became P.M. matters could be easily arranged and by you very easily than any other man, but if the present Government were to accept and back up any plan of yours that alone apart from its merits and demerits, would be sufficient to arouse fiercest denunciations from Gladstone."

According to Mackenzie Wallace, Lord Dufferin soon acquired the reputation of a benevolent protector of the Muslims. Even there were, at least in high official circles rumours of deporting Hume. The father of the Congress was, however, shrewed enough to explain his position at a great public meeting.[57a] Hume's speech at Allahabad on the 30th April, 1888, later on published under the title "A Speech on the Indian National Congress, its origin, aims and objects." Then followed that vigorous correspondence between Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieut. Governor of North-Western Provinces and Hume which has since become an historic one. It was later on published under the title *Audi Alteram Partem*. It is unnecessary to discuss it at length here except that part which throws light on the new phase of the Congress movement. For details the curious reader may refer to Wedderburn's biography of Allan Octavian Hume.[58] Sir Auckland's letter running into 20 typed pages while expressing approval with the aims and objects of the Congress viz. the expansion of the Legislative Councils on popular basis,[59] finds fault with the methods adopted by the Congress since 1887 when it started aggressive propaganda on the lines of the model of the Anti-Corn law campaign in England.[60] Colvin

57a. Dufferin Paper, N.A.I. Letter No. 66.
58. Wedderburn *op. cit.*, pp. 66-78.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

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regarded such a propoganda as premature and criticized the language of the pamphlets, which according to him excited hatred against the Government. He anticipated that the Congress agitation would lead to counter agitation and divide the country into hostile camps. Lastly he expressed doubts about the representative character of the Congress.[61]

Hume's reply covering over 60 typed pages dealt with every objection of Colvin. As regards the charge of exciting hatred, Hume's contention was that nothing was to be gained by "ignoring the notorious practical grievances felt by the peasantry", and he named them to be "unsuitable civil courts, the corrupt and oppressive police, the rigid revenue system, the galling administration of the Arms Act and the Forest Act."[62] Through these pamphlets, Hume declared, "We approach these intelligent men with sympathy, we admit their grievances, but we put them in a milder shape than they themselves do. We also tell them that it is not the individual governors or officials who are to blame" but the system, the form of that administration. And "we further show them how, by loyal and constitutional efforts they can secure the amelioration of that sysem and a remedy for many of the evils they have to contend against."[63] Bepin Chandra Pal, it may be interesting to recall, supported Colvin in his "warning against drawing the masses to this political movement" for he thought it to be a dangerous thing for India if the masses were to be imbued with a spirit of antagonism to the British Government.[64]

As for the risk of a counter-agitation which might divide the country into hostile camps, Hume did not think that there was any real opposition to the Congress party. "Excluding an inappreciable fraction", he declared "the whole culture and intelligence of the country was favourable to the Congress", and even the small anti-Congress party was "made up of a small knot of Anglo-Indians, mostly officials, supported by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press; a few men who in their hearts hate British rule,

61. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
63. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
64. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

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or are secretly in the employ of England's enemies" and a certain number of "timeservers, men not really in their hearts opposed to the Congress, but who have taken up the work of opposition to it, because it has seemed to them that this will pay."[65] Contrary to Colvin's hopes, Hume said, Congress had proved to be a great unifying force and he instanced the case of Salem—till recently a hot-bed of religious feuds between Hindus and Muslims.[66] He refuted Colvin's theory that active Congress propaganda would stir up religious rivalries between the two big communities as Mohammadens had fallen behind Hindus in the attainment of western education and consequently could not compete with them in the learned professions and examinations for public services—a share in which was being demanded by the Congress.[67]

So they looked with suspicion and jealousy towards the Congress which they regarded as "an instrument of aggrandisement for the Hindus." Hume was indignant. "The wretched plea" he said "about the Mohammadens being so inferior to Hindus that they will have no chance if a fair field is conceded to all classes and sects is monstrous." He then named a number of distinguished Muslim public men as Sir Salar Jung, Mr. Justice Badurddin Tyabji, and Mr. Justice Syed Mahmud. What was required was sound education for which their leaders were already working firstly by trying to set up a Muslim University and secondly by supporting Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory elementary education.[68] With regard to the objection that the Congress had no right to claim to be representative of the people of India, Hume said, that after all the Parliament in Great Britain represented only a fraction of the people of England. Congress in India represented the culture and intelligence of the country—a claim which was a little later confirmed by Lord Landsdowne when he declared that the Congress represented "the more advanced liberal party",[69] in India.

It will be interesting to recall in this connection the observations of a prominent British writer who was opposed to the Con-

65. Wedderburn, *op.cit.*, p. 71.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 74

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gress. He said: "It is a mistake to say that the principal Congressmen were all Bengalis. The Maratha Brahmins—from Poona form a very important and influential section. They belong to the priestly caste that sustained Shivaji in his heroic resistance to the great Mughals, and ultimately established Maratha empire on the ruins of throne of Delhi." Proud of these recent memories and gifted with remarkably subtle and shrewd intellects and enjoying the confidence of the powerful Maratha princes of Central and Western India, this Brahminical contingent of agitators were far more capable than their Bengali colleagues of conjuring a dangerous political intrigue; a well informed Anglo-Indian said that the Congress is directed from Poona rather than from Calcutta. Then there were Parsees whose younger generation with a literary training had made common cause with Hindu graduates of Poona. A few Mohammadens had also joined in the agitation but the Indian Musulmans as a body were bitterly opposed to the Movement.[70]

To Colvin's charge that the propoganda was "premature and mischievous", Hume replied at length. His view was that the Governor did not know the truth as he looked upon the Government, "through the rose-tinted official spectacles that so long obscured my sight."[71] There were "independent Indians of high character and public spirit" in every province but they had to be found out as they "do not willingly present themselves in official quarters where they may be met with suspicion from the authorities and insult from underlings." It was through these Indians that Hume came to know of the danger looming ahead, "tremendous in the immediate future from the misery of the masses, acted on by the bitter resentment of individuals among the educated classes." They warned Hume to take immediate steps if that danger was to be averted. "And the danger becomes all the more great when it is realized that the autocratic power is exercised by a handful of foreigners, alien to the population in language, race and creed and belonging to a masterful nation singularly regardless of the feelings and prejudices of others."[72] So when the Congress was started,

70. Maclean, J. M., *op.cit.*, p. 432.
71. Wedderburn, *op.cit.*, 75.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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Hume continued, the question was not, "Is it premature but is it too late, will the country now accept it....a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised," Hume concluded.

Regarding the Hume-Colvin controversy, B. C. Pal writes "I took some little part writing to the Press practically supporting Sir Auckland Colvin in his warning against drawing the masses to this political movement. I held that it would be a dangerous thing not only for the British Government but also for India if the masses were to be imbued with antagonism to British rule through our political agitations."[73] W. C. Bonnerjee had declared in course of a public utterance that one of the objects of the Congress was to "lower the British Government in the estimation of the people."

Several meetings were organised by the Congress to explain the aims and objectives of the Organisation. The meetings at Aligarh and Agra were addressed by Ajodhya Nath who endeavoured to show that the Congress was a perfectly loyal movement. The meeting at Agra concluded with 3 cheers for Her Majesty, three for the Congress, and three for the President. Some of the native newspapers particularly "The *Nasim-i-Agra*" of Agra, *Bharat Bandhu* of Aligarh, and the *Almora Akhbar* published articles praising the role of the Congress and expressed the hope that the "Congress[74] may ultimately prove to be the nucleus of an Indian Parliament."[75]

Though Dufferin agreed with Colvin's views, he refused to be drawn in the controversy. He was anxious not to give any cause of annoyance to the Congress on the eve of his departure. He was eager to receive a farewell even bigger than that was accorded to Ripon. To placate the Congress leaders, he urged the Home authorities to permit him before his departure to introduce Council reforms. He considered "the objects even of the more advanced

73. Pal, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

74. *Native Newspapers—Reports of North Western Provinces and Oudh* (1871-89), pp. 687-89.

75. Almora Akhbar; Feb., 20, 1886, N. N. R. (1871-80) p. 145.

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party neither very dangerous nor very extravagant."[76] As regards the reforms demanded by the Congress in Legislative Councils he confessed that "soon after my arrival in the country it occured to me that improvement might be possible in that direction and personally I should feel it both a relief and an assistance if in the settlement of many administrative questions affecting the interests of millions of Her Majesty's subjects, I could rely to a larger extent than at present upon the experience, and counsels of Indian Co-adjutors."[77] And he found that there were amongst the natives "a considerable number who are both able and sensible."[78] "The fact of their supporting the Government," he continued "would popularize many of its acts which now have the appearance of being driven through the legislature by force and if they in their turn had a native party behind them, the Government of India would cease to stand up, as it does now, as an isolated rock in the middle of a tempestuous sea, around whose base the breakers dash themselves simultaneously from all the four quarters of the heavens."[79] He considered the desire of the natives to take part in the management of their domestic affairs, "a legitimate and reasonable aspiration," and he pleaded with the Home Government that he thought "there should be enough statesmanship amongst us to contrive the means of permitting them to do so without unduly compromising our Imperial supremacy."[80] After enumerating all the points for and against his proposals he concluded with a warning "Under existing circumstances, the Government of India has no adequate medium through which it can explain its policy, correct a wrong impression, or controvert a false statement and though upto the present time the consequences of the evils I have indicated may not have become very serious or widespread, they contain the germs of incalculable danger."[81]

"India", he wrote to the Master of Trinity, "is daily becoming a difficult country to govern.... A highly educated and in certain respects a very able and intelligent native class has come into

76. Lyall, A. C., *The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin & Ava*, p. 151.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. Lyall, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 153.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

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existence during the last 30 years and naturally desires to be admitted to a large share in the conduct of their own affairs". Dufferin was, however, convinced more than ever of the loyalty of the educated classes and for that matter of the Congress to His Majesty, the King. He believed that "the most extravagant Bengali Babu that ever slung ink, as the expression is, cherishes at heart a deep devotion to Your Majesty's person and a firm conviction that it would be destruction to him if ever English rule in India was replaced by that of any other power."

He was firmly of the view that an alien government, exercising absolute domination through a small number of officials over a population of 250 millions in a distant country should expect discontent to be ripe and active and be always in a position to control and suppress a party affected to their rule but he did not suspect the Congress of being such a party. All this indicated that the educated classes which had been created under British auspices were beginning to take an interest in public affairs and he felt that these should be allowed to know more and to have ampler opportunities of expressing their opinions on the administrative matters of the Government.[81a]

But soon he realized that it was not possible to woo the Congress leaders and he extended unqualified support to Colvin. In his famous St. Andrews Farewell Speech,[82] Lord Dufferin showered abuses on the 'devoted head' of the Congress in whose creation he was said to have played a leading role. He denounced the Congress as "a microscopic minority" whose claim to represent the people of India, he described, as "groundless". While declaring the ultimate ambition of the Congress as "a very big jump into the unknown",[83] he reminded them that "in the present condition of India there can be no real or effective representation of the people with their enormous number, their multifarious interests and their tesselated minorities."[84] Then he made common cause with Colvin and condemned the Congress for having

81a. Dufferin to Queen, March 31, 1887 Dufferin Papers, Reel 516, No. 64.

82. For detailed speech, refer to *Dufferin Speeches delivered in India*, pp. 237-44.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

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distributed seditious pamphlets "amongst thousands and thousands by a very questionable spirit and whose manifest aim is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the crown in this country."[85] Lastly he warned Hume, General Secretary of the Congress thus: "Nor is the silly threat of one of the chief officers—the principal Secretary, I believe of the Congress, that he and his Congress friends hold in their hands the keys not only of a popular insurrection but of a military revolt calculated to restore our confidence in their discretion even when accompanied by the assurance that they do not intend for the present to put these keys into the locks."

This speech brought out a sharp rejoinder from Eardley Norton and a spirited defence from that most powerful champion of Indian aspirations Charles Bradlaugh.[86] The whole Indian press condemned these outbursts from an unexpected quarter. This speech was, however, another masterstroke of British diplomacy. While recommending liberal reforms to Home authorities Dufferin thought it advisable to give a snub to the leaders of the Congress and criticize their demands as "extravagant". While forwarding his speech to Lord Cross, Secretary of State and other members of the Council he explained in a letter dated December 3, 1888.[87] "It will of course make the Home Rule Party in India very angry and expose me to a good deal of obloquy and abuse just as I am leaving the country, the echoes of which may reverberate at home but I thought it would clear the atmosphere and render Lansdowne's position easier and pleasanter. I might of course have neutralized what was unpopular in my speech by some hint as to the proposals we have submitted to you for liberalising the Provincial Councils which is all that reasonable leaders even of most advanced section of Young India dream of." But the Viceroy did not like to "breathe a syllable which could in any way, even in a remote degree, commit the Government or any successor to any policy of the kind or raise the expectations which might, after all prove impossible of fulfilment."[88]

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.
86. Mazumdar, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 76. For Dufferin's reply also see *ibid.*
87. Lyall, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 204.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

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Dufferin's statement was regarded by the Secretary of State for India, as of no more moment than a speech made by an irresponsible politician at a public meeting in England. However, Lansdowne who succeeded Dufferin supported the latter's proposals. "A timely concession of this kind would, I believe, take a great deal of the wind out of the sails of the Congress, whereas, if the reform is delayed too long, it will be assuredly regarded as having been extorted from us." This speech figured quite prominently in the next session of the Congress which met at Allahabad under trying circumstances. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, that lion of the Uttar Pradesh, Pandit Ajudhya Nath experienced considerable difficulty in procuring a suitable site for the Pandal.[89] They were put to great hardships both by the civil and military authorities.[90] No suitable site could be procured until that "patriotic nobleman of Behar who was a gothic pillar of the Congress", Maharaja Laskshmeswar Singh of Darbhanga, purchased the Lowther Castle[91] just facing the Government House and placed it at the disposal of the Reception Committee.[92]

Surendranath remarked that "when the story of this spiteful and the unworthy persecution is published in this country, and when it is repeated in England, I am sure there will be one universal feeling of indignation throughout the country which I hope will teach the local officials a lesson which they have yet to learn."[93] Inspite of the opposition of the bureaucracy and the open hostility of Sir Syed Ahmad who had asked his followers to keep aloof from the Congress,[94] the Allahabad session was highly successful. The rumours that the followers of Sir Syed Ahmad and Raja Shiva Prasad,[95] another trusted friend of the officials, both of whom had founded the Indian United Patriotic Association[96] to serve as a bulwark against the Congress, might break the Con-

89. For details refer to *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), pp. 66-68.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
92. Mazumdar, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 73.
93. *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), p. 87.
94. Graham, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, p. 273.
95. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
96. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

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gress,[97] proved to be unfounded.[98] The attack, however, produced, contrary to the expectations of the authorities, a very wholesome effect on the public mind and the number of delegates rose to 1248,[99] including 200 Muhammadans.[100] There were amongst them the scions of the royal families of Delhi and Oudh,[101] besides several delegates from Aligarh—the home town of Sir Syed Ahmad. And all this happened in the teeth of opposition from the Government, as pointed out by Pandit Ajudhya Nath in his address.[102] "News comes to us from district after district that people have been told by their official superiors that they would come to grief, if they joined, subscribed to, or any way aided the National Congress." A confidential circular was said to have been issued by the Inspector General of Police, Bengal to the District Superintendents of Police in this respect.[103] In Gorakhpur anti-Congress meetings were arranged with the help of the Government Officers who also attended them.[104] The Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai who was in England at that time felt jubilant and wrote to Wacha "what a relief to me that the Congress has been so successful.....Events so shaped themselves that neither Dufferin's attack nor Colvin's correspondence did much mischief."[105] The President of that session was Andrew Yule, a great Calcutta merchant about whom Surendranath remarks that he never came across "a Calcutta merchant with broader and more liberal views or with more genuine sympathy for Indian aspirations."[106] He clearly defined the demands of the Congress as: "we want the Legislative Councils to be expanded to an extent that will admit of the representation of the various interests in the country so far as they may be practicable. We want half the members to be elected, the other half to be on the

97. *Ibid.*
98. Pal, B. C., *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 88
99. *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), p. 249
100. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
103. *Koh-i-Nur*, Lahore, October 13, 1888. *Report of Native Newspapers, N.W.P. & Oudh* (1871-1895) pp. 182 and 687.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Letter dated January 18, 1889. Masani, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-14.
106. Bannerjea, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 109

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appointment of the Government and we are willing that the right of veto should be with the Executive. We also want the right of interpellation."[107] He also exhorted the followers of the Congress not to be discouraged as "all movements of the kind on which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run these courses. The first is one of ridicule which is usually succeeded by partial concession, and misrepresentation of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking 'big jumps into the unknown.'[108] And he also pointed out that they have already passed the first stage and "we are mid-way between the abusive, misapprehensive stages."[109]

Inspite of the inimical criticism, the Congress forged ahead and the so-called patriotic associations found an early grave. The *Almora Akhbar* wrote: "Of the 800 delegates who attended the last (i.e. Allahabad) Congress, no less than 100 were Musalman."[110] The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore) was critical of Sir Syed's role. It condemned his lectures as "highly impolitic and inexpedient." It only widened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims, the paper said. The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore) expressed surprise and regret over Syed's sudden *volte-face*.

It will be informative to detail the method which was followed in the election of the delegates to the Congress session in those early days. The sectoral and ward or town divisions, on fixed dates, of which due notice was given, held public meetings and at these after due discussions of the aims and objects of the Congress, delegates were elected. In the case of larger territorial divisions, preliminary meetings were held at all the smaller towns and larger groups of villages, at each of which five, ten, or twenty men were elected to attend the main meeting at the headquarters where the delegates for the division were finally elected. Everyman who was interested in the matter could cast his vote either in the sectoral divisions, if he belonged to one such, or in the meetings, preliminary or final in the territorial divisions. The elected delegate was thus entitled to attend the

107. *Proc., I.N.C.*, (1886-91), p. 77
108. *Ibiid.*, p. 78.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Report of Native Newspapers—Punjab, N.W.P., Oudh, etc.*, 1871-91.

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annual session of the Congress as a delegate from that particular constituency. In many cases, he would have to travel 3,000, to 4,000 miles in going to and returning from the Congress at his own expense. Besides, these territorial divisions, ample provision had been made for the adequate representation of the minorities through sectoral electoral divisions. One of these, for example, in Madras included the Anglo-Indian and European Association of Madras, another—the two local Muhammadan Associations, others the Chambers of Commerce, the Traders' Association and the University. Thus under these arrangements, 43 electoral divisions, territorial and sectoral, elected 93 delegates to the Congress, being at the minimum rate of 3 per million for the whole presidency. Hume was convinced that these electoral divisions, each watched over by a knot of the ablest and best men of the locality associated with all the most influential men of the division, and guided by the advice of the ablest men the province or that presidency contained, had been able to constitute a machinery which would constitute an important safeguard against illegal and unconstitutional action."[111]

[111] Hume's speech at Allahabad in 1888.

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Reviews

HISTORIOGRAPHY IN MODERN INDIA, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970, pp. 61 + IV. Price Rs. 12/-.

This small but excellent book consists of three lectures that Dr. Majumdar delivered at Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay in 1967. The first lecture is entitled, historiography in Europe and its influence on the writing of Indian history in the first half of the 9th century; the second describes the development of Indian historiography since the middle of the 19th century, and the third deals with the shortcomings in Indian historiography. The book also contains an Index.

The first lecture gives interesting facts about the evolution of European historiography and discusses the fundamental principles laid down by Niebuhr (1776–1831) and Ranke, and commends them to Indian historians. He points out some glaring errors and prejudices of European writers, particularly British, of Indian history. James Mill (1773–1836), for example, made very derogatory remarks about the ancient Hindus in his *History of British India*, and found fault with Sir William Jones for what he called 'exalting the Hindus in the eyes of their European masters...." Later writers were more objective and less prejudiced except where their imperialistic interests were concerned. The second lecture begins with the development of historiography based on a critical study of books and documents, and the discovery and study of old inscriptions and monuments by archaeological explorations and excavations. During this period Indian scholars began writing the history of their country. Pioneers among these were R. G. Bhandarkar and R. C. Dutt. The Asiatic Society of Bengal took up the work of editing and publishing works of history and culture in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian during this period. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was a pioneer in the field of scientific research in medieval Indian history. He was noted for his thoroughness and accuracy and his ideal was the highest imaginable. "He has justly been compared," writes

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Dr. Majumdar, 'with Ranke, Niebuhr and Mommsen and hailed as the father of modern scientific historiography in India." The learned scholar also gives the contributions of V. K. Rajwade, Ranade, Sardesai and others. He says that Indian historiography during the second half of the 19th century and in the 20th century is characterised by exploration of source-material and its critical evaluation and interpretation. Dr. Majumdar gives a brief account of the results of explorations and investigations and notices notable works produced during the period. The third lecture points out not only the short-comings but also the pit-falls of Indian historiography. He refers in this connection to the project of the history of the Indian Freedom Movement and rightly finds fault with the official interference, the policy of ignoring unpalatable evidence, and of the desire of upholding certain pet ideas or theories un-supported by facts. He ridicules the idea that history has a philosophy of its own, and says that its one and the only object is the pursuit of truth. This valuable book should be read by all those who are engaged or wish to engage themselves in historical research.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF INDIA AND SOME FOREIGN COUNTRIES, by H. P. Dubey. (Published by N. M. Thripathi Private Limited, Bombay), 1968, pp. XLIV + 655. Price Rs. 36/-.

Legal history is a comparatively neglected field of study in India. Lawyer or judge who is ignorant of the evolution of legal terms, concepts, and systems and the historical setting of the tiers and grades of courts, and procedures, substantive and adjective forms of law, will not be able to assess the implications and understand the significant shades of meaning they carry. Only by taking law back to the past and subjecting it to close analysis in the context and light of the original backdrop, that one who applies it to specific problems of the present and interprets it, can succeed. In searching for precedents and confirmatory points in previous judicial decisions, judges and lawyers generally do not make use of legal history. They only pick a bone and try to present it as a being.

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The book under review supplies a much-felt want. It seeks to give a comprehensive survey of the legal history of India and some other countries. As it is a subject to be covered in a multi-volume work, the present study has, of necessity, become sketchy or even elementary.

The 'Introduction' for instance, smacks of shallowness. In twelve pages the author gives an outline of the origin and meaning of courts and makes a glut of hackneyed particulars regarding courts in several countries. For a layman this is redundant; for a lawyer and judge this is commonplace; and for a historical scholar it is nothing but heroics.

By no means the work can be said to be above reproach. The author does not display any sense of sequence of events or chronology, or is he offering a systematic treatment of the subject. The first chapter, for example, deals with the early English settlements in India and the second chapter 'Early English Courts and Justices' describes the beginning of British system of judicature in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In both we do not find any new facts. Keith, Fawcett, Malabari and Love and Wilson, in their famous works have given all that is stated here and more. After narrating the early British judicature, it suddenly occurs to the author that before he proceeds he has to stop to look at the ancient and medieval Indian legal systems. Was it to evoke dramatic effect to the narrative that he adopted this method? That is certainly not part of the historian's craft.

In chapter three, "Law and Justice in Ancient India" Mr. Dubey discusses a mighty vast subject in less than six pages; he devotes fourteen pages for analysing the Mughal system of justice in the next chapter. His information about the judicial system in ancient India is incomplete and patchy. Of all the chapters in the book, this particular one is the most misleading and faulty. It is because he has not cared to consult standard works on the subject like Venkatachariar's *Hindu Judicial System* and Kane's *History of the Dharmasastras*. If references are an indication of the author's range of reading, the conclusion is forced upon us that the author is ill-equipped to write on this topic. Even a general work like the *The History and Culture of the Indian People* published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, would have given Mr. Dubey sufficient

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information to write this chapter. He has nothing to say about the nature and content of ancient Indian law, its substantive and adjective aspects, its religious, ethical and sociological bearings; about how custom refused to be replaced by positive law, how in the determination and judgement of human conduct, *Maryada* or custom remained to the end the force behind the law and the power behind the throne. He has not a word to say of the blend of *abhyudaya* and *niśśrēyasa*, the ideas of morality and metaphysics, worldly and other-wordly in Hindu law, of the sense of justice of ancient Indian kings, of the identification of *daṇḍa* with *dharma*.

If it is not fair to charge the author on account of this not stated by him, we can certainly do that for making unchecked and inaccurate statements. The fundamental mistake committed by him is that he took the ancient Indian society as a single whole which was equal before law. He forgets that law or *dharma* was administered according to the caste status or *jāti* of the individuals. The same punishment was not awarded to the Brahmins and Sudras for the same kind of offences. The worst sin of Mr. Dubey lies in his not verifying the truth of the facts he has taken from Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Law*. Most of them are of questionable authenticity.

Barring these early chapters, the others are balanced digests of existing literature on the concerned topics and periods. Chapters in Part II and III are relatively free of intellectual dropsy. They give a sound exposition of the growth of the judicial system in the Mofussils and the Presidencies. The English system of judicature was well etsablished in India before the assumption of the Government of India direct by the British Crown. This is quite evident from chapters VIII to XII. But contrary to his own findings, Mr. Dubey says in his Preface "It was after 1858—the year which saw the departure of the East India Company from this country....that English law was, in substance, introduced into the Mofussil as well, through various pieces of legislation that emanated from the Viceroy's Legislative Council during the period 1859, which thus became an era of the influx into this country of English law and English institutions, which had, never before, pervaded our life as much as they did during this period". (p. xii). Such sweeping statements contribute only to lower the

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worthiness of the author's own labour. They also go against facts of history. Even though we do not learn much new facts from this neatly produced volume, its compendiousness and comprehensiveness are favourable points which make it a success. Students of institutional history of India will certainly find in it, inspite of its uncritical approaches and contradictions, an acceptable text book.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

"CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE", 1794–1795. National Archives of India, 1969. Price Rs. 25.

This is the eleventh volume of the series whose importance as a source of information for the history of the period, beginning from 1759, has been recognised by all scholars of the British period of Indian History. The volume under review has maintained the high quality of the series and contains the summary of 1671 letters beginning literally from the first day of the year 1794 and ending on the last day of the year 1795.

There is a long introduction at the beginning (pp. vii–xxxvi) drawing attention to the fact that "the correspondence calendared in this volume illustrates to a certain extent, the political problems, international relations, economic changes, social conditions and cultural forces that were at work during the period of transition between the decay of the old order and the rise of the new one. (p. xxxvi)." It is unfortunate that while discussing these different topics in detail no reference is given to the number of the letter or letters on which the conclusion is based. To cite an example, a reader would be very anxious to know on what letters the following very important general conclusions are based: "The close association of Hindus and Muslims in administration created favourable conditions for the development of cultural affinities between the two communities. The Hindus and the Muslims had evolved a *modus vivendi* which tended to foster unity among them. Out of their contacts emerged a new culture which incorporated ingredients of both and presented a certain unity and balanced harmony. Secularism and urbanity were the hall marks of this new culture." (pp. xxxiii–xxxiv).

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The evidence available so far from other sources does not support this view and it is therefore all the more necessary to mention the documents which throw such favourable light on the relation between the two communities. This point should be kept in view while editing the subsequent volumes.

Reference may be made to two letters, as specimens, throwing light on lawless condition of Bengal in 1794–5.

1. A proclamation dated 22 March, 1794, informing the Rajas, Sardars and inhabitants of Assam that on the representation of Swargadev, the Raja of Assam, that a body of *barqandazes* from Bengal were committing excesses in his country, the Governor-General has decided to send a body of British troops to suppress the disturbances and re-establish the Raja's authority. (p. 55, letter No. 216).

2. Memorial presented by the bankers, merchants and other inhabitants of Calcutta namely (a large number of names almost all of them non-Bengalis) ..... to the following effect:

'Hitherto there existed flourishing business between Calcutta and other parts of the country like Murshidabad, Patna, and Banaras. Some traders insure their goods for safety while others do not. The trade is being disturbed by pirates who come in boats, attack and inflict injury on the petitioners' men and make off with their belongings (many concrete instances are given)' pp. 314–5, No. 1279.

Like previous volumes this one will also prove a very valuable source of the history of the period.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE MUGHAL AND SIKH RULERS AND THE VAISHNAVAS OF PINDORI by B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1969, pp. 447 + VIII. Price Rs. 50/–.

The above work is a collection of fiftytwo documents procured by the indefatigable authors from the *mahant* of Pindori in the Gurdaspur district of East Panjob. The facsimile of the

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documents with the seals that they bear, their transcripts in *Nastaliq* and their English translation form the text. Copious notes, a fairly detailed history of the hermitage known as Pindori (Talabpur Pindori) are provided by the learned authors. The establishment of Pindori is an important Vaishnava hermitage and is known almost all over India. The founder of the *gaddi* was a celebrated Vaishnava saint, and he and his successors received recognition and grants of land and some other privileges from the Mughal governors and Sikh rulers of the Panjab. Although it may not be possible to share the excitement of the authors or command the style in which the work is presented, the documents granting these privileges are of much historical and religious value. The learned authors have rendered a great service to the cause of scholarship by publishing them together with their translations and helpful notes. The Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla too deserves commendation for giving encouragement and assistance in bringing out the volume. The printing, paper and get up of the book are good.

A. L. Srivatsava

GUJARAT IN 1857 by Dr. R. I. Dharaiya, (Gujarat University, Ahmadabad 9, 1970, pages 180, Price Rs. 8/-).

The Post-Independence Epoch in India witnessed the growth of a volume of literature about the history of the freedom movement. Some began to trace it from the time of the beginnings of the Indian National Congress, while others started much earlier with the Great Rising of 1857. In a glow of enthusiasm almost each State in India prided in proclaiming its contribution to the freedom struggle. That the State of Gujarat did not lag behind in this regard is proved by this publication by the Gujarat University.

The causes usually attributed to this upsurge in Delhi are almost the same in respect of the States as where the political and military flare-up raged; only it was a question of shift of emphasis on some aspects and personalities. In the light of the wide-spread disaffection, the displeased chieftains and the affected

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public were in a violent mood of tension, bidding their time for the revolt. In the nine chapters of the book, the author has given a vivid description, based on a detailed study of Government and other records (a list of which is given on pages 162 to 170) of those who headed the movement and the localities which were most affected. He is specially critical of the work of the Inam Commission which added its heavy weight to the discontent, because it insisted on the confiscation of the property, long enjoyed by some classes of people. The enhancement of the Salt Duty in 1844, the measure for standardising weights and measures, the rumour spread about salt defiled with the blood of the cow, the method of recruitment and the pay of the military sepoys, the disturbed feelings of Baiza Bai, the widow of Daulat Rao Scindia and that of Shahzada Firuz Shah, a direct descendant of Bahadur Shah, all fanned the flame, especially in the localities of Mahikantha, Panchamahal and Khera. A communal clash between the Muslims and the Parsis in May 1857 was given a political colouring at the time and holy men predicted the fall of the British Company. The native Press proved a powerful machinery to broadcast such news. Ahmadabad raised the standard of revolt though General Roberts nipped it in the bud. But, it was a purely temporary withdrawal to be followed by a wide-spread upheaval headed by the sepoys of Holkar and Scindia. It was betrayed by the Gaekwad of Baroda to the Resident who took timely action to suppress it and punish the ring leaders with the extreme penalty under the Law. It was followed by the revolt of 140 petty chiefs of Mahikantha and the severe action taken against them under instructions from Major Whitecock, the Political Agent of Mahikantha. The most outstanding contribution to the spread of revolt was by Tantya Tope. His clever strategems and peregrinations give interesting reading in the context of the times; it was one more frantic attempt against the British rule in India. An able General of Nana Sahib, Tantya died a martyr's death at Sipri on the 18th April 1859, being sentenced, in the presence of Capt. Meade, to be hanged to death by a court martial (p. 112).

The account teems with the names of local heroes and the incidents connected with them; the stories of Nana Sahib, Tantya Tope, Maulavi Liyakatali, Illahabadi and Rango Bapuji and the leading part they played in the revolt provide interesting reading.

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The vigilance of the British Officers at this critical hour saved the situation for the Company.

The title of the book can more appropriately be 'Gujarat and the Freedom Struggle of 1857'. A final chapter devoted to the discussion of the causes for the final failure of the risings would have enhanced the value of the book.

The sketch maps given help us to understand the localities affected by the upsurge and the track of the rebels. Appendices A to I (pages 140 to 151) give additional information about the arms seized and surrendered at the various places in Gujarat.

The book adds to our knowledge of facts and personalities of Gujarat connected with the Freedom struggle of 1857.

K. K. PILLAY

ISTORIYA INDII V SREDNIYE VEKA, Eds. L. B. Alayev, K. A. Antonova and K. Z. Ashrafian, Moskva, 1968, pp. 726.

Soviet Indologists have in recent years brought out a series of four volumes covering the entire spectrum of Indian history from the earliest times to 1950s. The volume under review, dealing with period from the 6th century A.D. to the 17th century A.D., was the third to be published. The first on contemporary and the second on modern Indian history, were brought out in 1959 and 1961 respectively. The English version of the former was published in India by the Peoples Publishing House in 1964 giving rise to certain controversies.

The choice of the starting point, the 7th century in the northern India and the 6th century in the southern India has been deliberate. This was done to synchronise the medieval period in India with the Marxist conception of the stages in the progress of history which equates the beginnings of medieval age with the rise of feudalism.

The Marxist approach, as was to be expected, is evident in the treatment of the subject. The kings, the courtiers and battles take a back seat while the people, the socio-economic forces at work, the exquisite pieces of art occupy the stage. In

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the process history pulsates with life, a virtue one does not always associate with a textbook of this dimension.

There are sixteen chapters and a conclusion. They are grouped under four headings: (1) Early Middle Ages, (2) Developed feudalism, (3) Late Middle Ages, The Mughal Empire and (4) Culture of Medieval India. There are several sub-headings.

In the first chapter a section has been devoted to the discussion of the religions then practised. Similarly, in the second chapter there is a detailed analysis of Islam, because it had become the second most popular religion in the country. It has been correctly emphasized that even after the acceptance of Islam, many people continued to follow old customs like *Sati* (p. 369). An interesting part of this chapter is the description of the socio-economic condition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.. The emergence of new land relations consequent upon the induction of a new foreign elite has been ably explained. The rise of various sectarian movements has been narrated. It would have been interesting to relate them to the new economic forces that had been generated. For example, the rise of Sikhism in the Panjab in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was coincident with a spurt in agricultural production coupled with picking up of land trade in the late 14th and 15th centuries. The cessation of Mongol attacks as well as measures undertaken by Firuz contributed to this development. The merchants and producers after the new economic prosperity felt restive under the constraints imposed by the norms of the traditional Hindu society. Sikhism was, therefore, welcomed by the masses in the Panjab. Similarly, it is surprising that no mention of social character of the movement started by Vallabhācārya has been made. Like Sikhism, it was a social protest movement adopted by the traders and artisans in the early sixteenth century and became extremely popular in the Panjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The authors have given a fine exposition of different systems of land tenures and the land revenue policies of the Great Mughals. However, the statement that *Soyurghal* land-grants were meant only for the Muslims, needs to be revised in the light of documents published in the *Jogis of Jokhbar*. The Hindus were also its beneficiaries.

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The story of Indian commerce, internal as well as external, has been deservedly treated at some length. It takes into account the effect of the coming of the Europeans and the manner in which they established their control over Indian economy. This development prevented the transition from feudalism to capitalism and arrested the growth of a truly national bourgeoisie.

The conclusions of Mandelslo and Bernier that Indian traders lived poorly so as to evade the attention of local authorities, who tried to squeeze money from them, (p. 503) need not be accepted. This is unlikely because local traders like Vīrji Vorā were so rich that it was useless for them to try to hide their wealth.

On page 576, Nāmdeva the saint from Maharastra and Narsimha Mehta of Gujarat have been ascribed to the thirteenth century. On page 594 the former is said to have lived in the fourteenth and the latter in the fifteenth century. The confusion could have been avoided by giving the dates.

The reviewer has two more points to make. First Shershāh has not been given his due. It should not be forgotten that he was the first Muslim ruler in north India, who really gave 'good government' to the people. Apart from this, his reforms in the land revenue system really prepared the ground for Akbar's experiments. Secondly, it is high-time to use Jain sources for the recostruction of medieval Indian history. They contain valuable data regarding social, economic and political life.

The reviewer would wish that the authors had high-lighted India's contacts with Central Asia for Central Asian archives and libraries contain material that are unknown to scholars outside the region. This statement is amply borne out by the following publications from Tashkent on the subjects: (1) Baikova, *Rol sredney Azii* v. *Russko-Indiiskoi torgovle,* XVII-XVIII vv; (2) Nizamutdinov, *Iz Istorii sreineaziatsko-Indiiskikh Otnoshenii;* (3) Rasul-zade, *Iz Istorii Sredne-Aziatskoi-Indiiskikh svyazei vtoroi poloviny XIX-nachala XX veka.*

The authors have done well to provide detailed indexes for proper names, place names, local terms and nationalities, castes and tribes. There is also a comprehensive bibliography. Un-

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doubtedly these will be of great help to the general reader as well as researchers.

In conclusion, the Soviet scholars deserve great many thanks for producing this important study of medieval India.

DR. SURENDRA GOPAL

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA, by Charles H. Heimsath and Surjit Mansingh: (Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1971, pp. xii + 559. Price Rs. 30/-).

The book is the outcome of the endeavours of two well qualified authors; one has worked on the subject for a decade particularly on the documents of the Government while the other brings to bear a practical outlook through her experience in the Indian Foreign Service. The book emphasises the foreign relations of India during post-Independence period and indicates the modified approach to international relations from what was followed by the British as masters of India. The authors lay emphasis on the explosive nature of the relationship with border countries, especially Pakistan and China and assess the successes as well as failures of the policy pursued. By virtue of her geographical position and natural resources, India plays a vital role in the comity of nations especially at a critical period in world history when new states are being evolved consequent upon the thirst for independence and anti-colonial freedom struggles. Naturally the sharp dividing line between the developed and under-developed states has to be borne in mind in order to set right the economic imbalance. After the dismemberment of the British colonies and dependencies from the mother country a commonwealth scheme was set up in order to face the problems like emigration, equal treatment of natives and racial discriminations. In a series of Imperial Conferences, much common ground was covered as policies of defence, economic freedom, tariff prospects, emigration and the rest. Generally the British legacy of conservatism, respect for tradition and rule of law provided ready model to copy, though in a later period, the advocates of new initiatives in foreign policy clashed with those reared in old traditions.

The book is in three parts (19 chapters) covering the entire field of India's foreign relationship to the end of the Nehru period.

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The second chapter details the outcome of India's attachment to the Commonwealth, especially during the two World War-periods. Chapter three explains the significance of the Non-alignment policy set forth by Nehru in the words "We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led, in the past, to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale." (p. 58). With the short-term objective of containing Chinese power or limiting its effectiveness in Tibet, India negotiated an agreement for eight years on Tibet in 1954. Nehru's policy set forth the five principles of co-existence known as *Panchseel* doctrine and specific articles relating to Indo-Tibetan relations is explained. The latest diplomatic move of a treaty with U.S.S.R. has to be studied in the present context of the need to face the threat from Pakistan and China. The full implication of this policy in its practical working is given in Chapter III. Equally noteworthy is the report on the emergence of Indian foreign policy in the United Nations. The eluding head-ache is the relation with Pakistan (Chapter V) and with China (Chapter XVII). It is critically examined in all its bearings with particular reference to Indian Defence policy. In the intervening chapters India's foreign relationships with other emerging new states of Africa and with America, Japan, U.S.S.R. and others are systematically examined, particularly in connection with the aid given, technical and financial, to run enterprises and projects in India on very big scales like the one at Bokaro and at Rourkela. The concluding chapter (XIX) on the evolution of Indian policy in the United Nations provides a balanced assessment of the collaboration in peace-making operations, continuing arms debates, the functioning of the U.N.C.T.A.D., UNESCO and GATT. The authors feels that anti-colonialism and peaceful co-existence were the two major objectives of Indian U.N. diplomacy in the 1950's. They rightly conclude: "In the first half of the 1960's the Nehru Era faded away by degrees" (page 524). The Chinese debacle, "territorial losses suffered in Ladak, the increased concentration of Chinese power in Tibet and even the demonstrated weakness of the NEFA frontier" (page 474) paved the way for Nehru's physical and mental break-down. The authors rightly leave the post-Nehru era to be described by future historians, because in no other sphere do events and policies change so dramatically as in the diplomatic field.

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The book is a well-documented publication covering the wide field of the foreign diplomacy of modern India. It furnishes a balanced and critical estimate of India's policy. The index and bibliography are well prepared and the book is admirably produced A few errors of print have appeared as on line 8, p. 524. But on the whole the authors deserve much credit for this publication.

K. K. PILLAY

'A HISTORY OF KARNATAKA', edited by Dr. P. B. Desai, published by Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar; 1970, price Rs. 20.

A happy and welcome development in the field of Indian historical studies in recent years is the appearance of fairly detailed works on the history of different regions of the country. It is not possible to get all the historical details about all the regions of the country even in comprehensive works; and therefore the need for and usefulness of regional histories, as the one under review, can hardly be exaggerated. But the usefulness of these histories depends upon the degree of objectivity employed in narrating them as there is always the danger of the past glory of the author's own State being projected beyond the point justified by the available evidence. The book under review written by Dr. P. B. Desai, Dr. Shrinivasa Ritti and Dr. B. R. Gopal to unfold before us the history of Karnataka from the pre-historic age to the post-independence period has happily overcome this obsession.

The book is divided into eleven chapters of which the first is introductory and gives a brief survey of the archaeological and literary sources of different kinds for the history of Karnataka. The second chapter with a short account of the physical features of Karnataka deals with the pre-historic and epic period of the history of the State. Besides noting the discovery of several Early Stone Age tools and specimens of the Middle Stone Age, microlithic and New Stone Age industries the account draws attention to the reported suggestion that 'Karnataka had commercial contact

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with the people of the Indus Valley in c. 3000 B.C.' and that 'the gold found in the Harappan sites were imported from the gold mines of Karnataka' (p. 34). That the Indus Valley Civilization was not confined to north-western India and that it had contacts with some other regions are now realised as more and more excavations are done outside the Indus valley area. One should like to have more evidence on the relations of the Indus valley people with Karnataka. Regarding the question on the etymology of *Karnata*, the suggestion that this name is the Sanskritised form of the original word Kannada which means elevated territory (*Karu*-high, elevated and *nadu*-country) is accepted (pp. 43-44).

The nine chapters that follow review the political fortunes of the Karnataka country. Some later inscriptions record that Chandragupta Maurya migrated to Sravanabelagola in Karnataka along with his preceptor Bhadrabahu. That parts of Karnataka were under Asoka is evident from his edicts at Maski, Koppal, Siddapura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Ramesvara. After the fall of the Mauryan empire considerable parts of the Deccan and South India came under the Satavahanas and some members of the collateral line of this dynasty seem to have had close contacts with Karnataka. During the third century A.D. the Chutus, who were probably feudatories under the Satavahanas rose to power and two of their inscriptions have been found. The first major dynasty of Karnataka that played a significant role in South Indian history was that of the Kadambas. Their history is briefly dealt with. This is followed by an account of the Gangas of Talakkad and an appendix on Salivahana Saka.

The period from c. 500 to 1200 A.D. was one of intense political activity. It saw the rise and fall of the Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyana, the Rashtrakutas and the Kalachuries. The history of these dynasties is discussed in three chapters. The history of the Seunas who started their political career in the 10th century and came to prominence in the second half of the 12th century is dealt with in a separate chapter. While the Seunas were flourishing in the territories to the north of the Tungabhadra, the Hoysalas were emerging in the southern portions of Karnataka. The account of the Hoysalas given in this volume not only deals with the political history of the dynasty but also touches upon its contribution to art and religion. The striking feature of the chapter on the Vijaya-

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nagara empire is the rejection of the theory regarding the Telugu origin of the empire. The authors of this volume have collected all available evidence in support of the Karnataka origin of what developed later as the glorious empire of Vijayanagara and cogently argue out the case. The view is acceptable; but one would like to have move positive evidence to clinch the issue. This is a subject on which much scholarly effort has been spent and historians have taken opposite stands. The treatment of the history of the great empire is full.

The history of the period following the fall of the Vijayanagara empire is also narrated, but in a summary way. We are briefly told about the Aravidu kings, Keladi rulers, Wodeyars of Mysore and the spread of the freedom movement in the State.

The book is thus a survey of South Indian History so far as it relates to the regions now in the State of Mysore. It is sufficiently illustrated with plates and six maps, the latter showing the political peripheries of different kingdoms at different periods. At the end of each chapter is furnished a genealogical table of the dynasty discussed. The book will be of use for a study of the historical evolution of Karnataka and its fortunes successively under different dynasties.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE: THE INDIAN YEARS—1796–1827 by R. D. Choksey, (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1971, pp. xiv + 465, Price Rs. 60.

This is a biographical study of the political career of Mountstuart Elphinstone in India, based mainly on the Elphinstone Journals and other papers. Reaching India early in life, he rose to prominence in the service of the Company ending his career here as Governor of Bombay.

The Indian years of Elphinstone is a subject which demands thorough study and evaluation, as to him, the architect of British power in Western India, goes the credit for understanding and appreciating India and the values she stood for. That does not mean that India owes a debt of gratitude, as Prof. Choksey contends, to

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him for his legislation and able government; the part played by Elphinstone in building up the edifice of British empire cannot be ignored.

Several attempts have been made in recent years to throw fresh light on the problem; Prof. Choksey's is the latest. It is not, to be sure, a critical analysis of the thoughts and activities of the person concerned, but a faithful reproduction of the data contained in the hitherto ill-utilized journals and papers of Elphinstone kept in the India Office Library, London. The author admits, not without a sense of inappropriateness and guilt, "I could not resist the temptation to quote Elphinstone's letters and passages from his journal which have perhaps made this biography rather dull to the reader. No life of Elphinstone can be complete without a thorough study of these journals". It is a pity that the author has been carried away by the impression that by quoting passages and reproducing verbatim parts of papers of Elphinstone, he has been making "a thorough study of these journals". He has evidently not studied them in the manner of a critical and objective investigator; even for an ordinary reader the book will appear defective and lacking in dependable scholarship. In providing a narrative of events in chronological order, couched in the words of the original sources, the author does not care a whit to check the credibility or validity of the materials by comparing them with evidence supplied by other founts, contemporary or later. He says "Instead of publishing in a separate volume his vast correspondence and interesting extracts from his journals I have tried to tell this story, as much as possible, in his own words. Scholars will, therefore, be able to draw upon the original material, administrative, political and social". (p. vi). Had he followed the wiser path which he eschewed, it would have been a definite contribution to research aid, certainly more valuable than this scissors-and-paste biographical narrative.

The treatment of the subject is also not systematic and it may be perhaps due to the abundance of new material that he forgets the thread of argument, and unconnected facts, breaking sequences, rush forward in an attempt to come first. The result is often a jumble of interesting facts.

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By quoting passages long and short, profusely without any kind of referencing, the author has transmuted the valuable original source material into undependable secondary information. As things stand, there is no way of checking the authenticity of the statements, and it is sad to see words, said to be of Elphinstone's being wasted. In short, the only merit and strength of this book lie in the unidentifiable quotations from Elphinstone's journals which were made pejorative by the author by stripping them of their originality.

In twenty four chapters, Elphinstone's family history and official career in India have been narrated. The Early Years (1796-1808), The Kabul Mission (1808–1809), Resident at Poona (1801-1818), settlement of the Deccan (1818–1819) and Governor of Bombay (1819–1827) are the main divisions under which these Indian Years of Elphinstone are dealt with.

The story unfolds itself through the writings of Elphinstone himself as we have already noted. Other sources are totally ignored. In a study like this other primary and secondary sources can be ignored only at the peril of the author. For instance the section on Kabul Mission is distressingly lacking in thoroughness and critical analysis and is devoid of crucial data regarding the political motive and policy of Britain and other powers involved in the drama. A study of a plethora of sources alone can bring out the different aspects of the problem in a convincing manner. But when Elphinstone narrated his own story, certainly he had no necessity to refer to other sources!

The whole narrative suffers from imbalance, absence of discreetness and necessary economies. Very often for giving silly and inconsequential details which have no bearing on the subject under discussion, the author lavishes precious pages. See for example the arid description of the long journey undertaken by Elphinstone from Calcutta to Poona (pp. 31–38). He has not taken care to check the spellings of placenames and common names and has put them in the text as he found them in old documents; e.g. to mention a few, Nandyroodg, Copaldoorge (p. 33) and Tungbudra (p. 34). Moreover Prof. Choksey fails to integrate the materials he has collected into a coherent narrative. Passages picked from the documents refuse to join hands with his own

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stock. The result is that many a passage turn out to be ludicrously mongrel, e.g. "He was suddenly attacked by violent pain in my liver side". (p. 48). "He was advised by the General that 'he thought I might go first to one place and then to the other" (p. 56). "Because of his love of reading 'my mind continually wanders and I fall into endles reveries'" (p. 438). Such blots can be seen in every page of the book. Misprints and stylistic flaws too have a share in making the book lick the dust.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

TRAVELS OF GURU NANAK by Dr. Surendra Singh Kohli, Publication Bureau, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1969. pp. 200 + VIII. Price Rs. 15/-.

This work too was published under the auspices of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, on the occasion of 500th Anniversary of Guru Nanak. As its title indicates, it is the book of Guru Nanak's travels, which covered, as the author says, the whole of India including Nepal, Sikkism Bhutan and Ceylon. Nanak is also said to have visited Tibet and China, Baluchistan, Aden, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Azar-baijan, Iran; Afghanistan; and Africa including Egypt, Sudan and Abyssinia. The book gives six appendices and a bibliography. The printing and finish of the book are good.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND INDIAN TRADITION, by Dharampal. Pp. lxiv + 122. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Varanasi, 1971. Price, cloth bound, Rs. 30; Paper-back, Rs. 15/-.

This book is primarily a collection of original documents relating to resistance to the imposition of a tax on houses and shops by Regulation XV of 1810 on the part of the people of Benaras, Patna, Saran, Murshidabad and Bhagalpur. The author calls the resistance a Civil Disobedience Campaign, a precursor to that launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920-21, and undertook this

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tedious task of collecting documents not from a spirit of purely historical research but to remove two erroneous impressions entertained by many, including himself, namely, that the Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements were of very recent origin in India and Gandhi had himself derived them from Thoreau, Tolstoy, Ruskin, and other Europeans (no mention is made of Shri Arabindo who wrote fifteen years before, in the well-known Daily, *Vande Mataram*, a series of articles, later published in the form of a book, describing in minute detail all the items which were later adopted by Mahatma Gandhi).

The episode, a chance discovery of which inspired the author to undertake this publication, is described in detail in the well-known *History of India* by Mill and Wilson which was a prescribed text for Degree Examination in the Calcutta University for many years in this century. The author is evidently ignorant of this work as he does not include it in the long list of sources on pp. lxii–lxiv. The major part of the long Introduction of nearly forty pages as well as the Foreword of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan discuss general political principles which have not any immediate bearing on the episode treated in the volume, except the short account of the genesis and nature of the agitation on the part of the people. The author quotes a passage from Gandhiji's writings to show that he did not borrow the idea of Civil Disobedience from the Europeans mentioned above, but regarded passive resistance as a traditional mode of protest against authority in India. The author spoke of it to other followers and friends of Gandhiji who were however incredulous, and in order to convince them, the author undertook a research and found the first hint of the events described by him in S. B. Chaudhuri's book *Civil Disturbances during the British rule in India*. The author is unaware of a more convincing argument that could be advanced in his favour. Once Gandhiji met a group of young Bengalis imprisoned for violent activities against the Government, and tried in vain to win them over to his method of non-violent passive resistance, for they persisted in saying that they had no faith in the efficacy of non-violent passive resistance. Gandhiji then reminded them that it was a great Bengali, Chaitanyadeva, who successfully adopted this method to force the Kazi of Nadiya to withdraw his order forbidding *Kirtan* songs in public streets. Another instance is furnished

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by the passive resistance of the cultivators of Indigo in Bengal against the Indigo-planters, which was equally successful.

The author, whatever his motive, has rendered a good service to the cause of history by publishing these documents, consisting of the correspondence between the various governmental authorities. But curiously enough, he has not published the petitions of the people to the authorities which best describe the nature of the agitation and the spirit behind it. These are published in Appendix VIII of Vol. VII of the *History of British India* by Mill and Wilson.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

REPUBLICS IN ANCIENT INDIA (c. 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.), by J. P. Sharma: (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1968, pp. XVI + 278).

That the *Ṛṣi* composers of the Vedas have in their outpourings thrown some light on the social and political life of India in such a remote age is evident from the interpretation of the Vedas by eminent Vedic scholars like Rhys Davids, D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. A. S. Altekar, Dr. B. C. Law, R. C. Majumdar, C. V. R. Rao, and others. It is notable that in the light of the evidence available in Buddhist literature also Prof. Rhys Davids has recorded some sixty-five years ago the existence of nine republican clans in North and North-eastern India. Direct representation of the popular will, in the type of Government evolved, was experimented upon in ancient India more or less in the same manner as it was in ancient Greece. The author of this book, speaks of the limited monarchies and the four different forms of aristocratic Government functioning during the Vedic and Buddhistic periods. He ably supplements the findings of earlier scholars on this subject by examining untapped sources and recording his views about each Republic in the various aspects of its life like origin and location, government and organisation, judicial procedure, foreign relations as well as political history. He confines the subject matter of the study to "the problems connected with the constitutional development of Vedic institutions, the question whether or not the Vedic monarchy was elective, the manner in which the Vedic aristocracies were organised, the relationship

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between the Vedic and the north-eastern republics, the controversial issue whether or not the *vidatha* was the earliest folk-assembly of the Indo-Aryans, the method by which the north-eastern republics were administered, the constant struggle that went on between the republicanists and the monarchists, what wrought the fall of the republics, and some other allied topics of historical importance." The terms looming large in this context are the *Vis* (democratic Assembly) *Samiti* and *Sabha*, *Gaṇa* and *Vidatha* and the copious quotations from the original texts regarding their functions. The *Brahmana* texts exhibit a tendency to prefer the monarchical form of Government and are ill-disposed towards the Republicans, the Licchavis, the Sakyas, Mallas etc., whom they do not even casually mention. In order to avoid falling in line with these Brahminical concepts of *Varṇāśrama* and the King's duty and yet to preserve the *Dharma* and to preserve their identity, some republican clans moved north-east. The maps on pages 1 and 131 show the names of the kingdoms. This Brahminical propensity, added to the hard life in the hilly and marshy tracts which some of these clans occupied, the frequent border and River water (*Rōhiṇi*) disputes, the inherent weakness of the Republican type, like personal ambition and party politics added to the land hunger of kings, Ajatasatru of Magadha and Vidudabha of Kosala, culminated in the collapse of the republics and the absorption of their territory in the kingdoms of the ambitious monarchs.

Chapter II (pp. 15 to 80) outlines the concepts of the Republican type followed by the non-monarchical Government in Vedic India. Copious quotations are furnished from the Vedas regarding the functioning of the *Vis*, the elective and selective monarchies, the oligarchical form of Rājanyās or clan heads; the quorum for the *Samiti* and *Sabha*, their judicial and administrative powers and the functioning of the *Vidatha*, its character, composition, and the role it played in Vedic life (studied from the 40 hymns quoted on pages 63 to 68). The author feels that *Vidatha* was a local congregation, performing mainly religious functions.

In Chapters 3 and 4 the famous Lichchavis of Vaisāli heading the Vajjian confederacy and their form of republican government is analysed while subsequent chapters deal with the Vidēhās of

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Mithila—the Nayakhatiyas of Kundagama (in which Mahavira was born), the Śākyās of Kapilavastu (in which Sidhartha was born), the Koḷiyās of Ramagama and the lesser known republics, Moriyas of Pippalivana, the Bulis of Allakappa and the Kalamas of Kesaputta. The eleventh chapter concludes the discussion with a summary outlining the causes for the fall of the Republics. Discord among the republicans was the primary cause, while the imperialist actions of monarchies constituted a secondary cause.

The Appendices, the bibliography and the index at the end are very useful. It is no easy task to differ from the views of the various scholars of Hindu and Buddhist lores; the author has successfully done so by interpreting terms in a new perspective though he owns that some may be hypothetical subject to further research.

It gives very interesting reading and surprising facts about the early history of Vedic India. The author has handled the subject in a systematic and unique manner becoming of a research scholar. The book is sure to be of great service to students of Indian history interesting in the concepts of political institutions of the early India of Vedic age. Quality of production of the book is good.

K. K. Pillay

LIFE OF GURU NANAK, by Sarjit Singh Bal. Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1969, Pp. 283 + VIII. Price Rs. 20/-.

This is a biography of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, written and published on the occasion of his 500th Birth Day Anniversary under the auspices of the Panjab University. It is divided into 21 chapters describing the activities of Guru Nanak from his birth to his death. The most ineresting chapter deals with the foundation of the Sikh Church. Whether Guru Nanak really wanted to establish a new religion is not quite certain. The book also contains helpful notes and a bibliography. It is a well—

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written work, but it gives little that is not already known to scholars. Nevertheless it is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

HISTORY OF THE HINDU COLONISATION AND HINDU CULTURE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Published by the University of Jabalpur, Pages 39, 1970. Price Rs. 15/-.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar is an internationally famous scholar and the Doyen of our historians. In 1965, he delivered a course of four lectures at the University of Jabalpur and these have been printed in the brochure under review. In the introductory portion of his first lecture on Burma, he has appropriately included Greater India in the scope of Indology and tells us how large number of Indians settled in South-East Asia and carved out kingdoms in those places in the early centuries of the Christian era. They came among a people who spoke a babel of tongues and lived more or less in the neolithic age. Traders, missionaries and adventurers from India settled among these semi-civilized people, took wives from them and then grafted elements of Hindu culture on the primitive culture of the local people. Thus gradually Sanskrit language and literature, the art of writing, religion social ideas and customs, law, administrative system, art and architecture were introduced among these people.

According to Burmese tradition, a Śākyan prince from Kapilavastu first set up a kingdom in the Upper Irrawady. Subsequent waves of immigrations arrived and new kingdoms were set up in Arakan and Śrīkṣetra (near Prome). The indigenous tribes of the Pyu and the Kanran were subjected to Indian influences at an early date. Internecine struggle between the two tribes ensued, in which the Kanrans were worsted and migrated to Arakan, while the Pyus established a powerful kingdom in the third century A.D. with its capital at Śrīkṣetra (mod. Hmawza, 10 km to the East of Prome). Some of their inscriptions in Pyu and Sanskrit languages dating from the 7th and early 8th century

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A.D. reveal the limits of Pyu authority, their religious proclivities and cultural sympathies. Dr. Majumdar then describes the connexion of the Pyus with the Mons, also known as Talaings who lived to the South of the Pyus in Lower Burma called Ramañña-deśa; they had also settlements in northern Thailand and followed the practices of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The Hinduized Pyus were then subjugated in the 10th and 11th centuries by the barbarous Mrammas who set up their capital at Pagan. One of its outstanding rulers was Aniruddha. His reign is a water-shed in Burmese history. He defeated Manuha, the Mon-king of Thaton and brought the royal prisoner to his capital at Pagan, along with monks, artisans, Buddhist scriptures and relics. Dr. Majumdar has truly observed, "Never before was a conquering power so completely captivated by the vanquished. Even the classical example of Rome and Greece was surpassed." The dynasty of Aniruddha ruled till 1287, when Burma was conquered by Kublai Khan. The country gradually disintegrated into small principalities. The internecine struggle between the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava convulsed Burma for a long time till the advent of Alompra, who united Burma under his leadership. The rulers of this dynasty fought against the British government in the 19th century, till Burma was annexed to the British empire.

Dr. Majumdar has discussed how the Brāhmaṇical religion introduced early by the Indians gradually made room for Hīnayāna Buddhism. It led to the growth of a voluminous Pāli literature, art and architecture, fresco-paintings, which uninfluenced by India in a remarkable way.

The second lecture of Dr. Majumdar deals with Kambuja (Cambodia). The first Indian settlement was in the region lying to its South in Cochi-China. In Chinese annals, the new kingdom has been located in Funan. The first Hindu ruler of this place was Kauṇḍinya, who married the daughter of a local chieftain and introduced elements of Indian civilisation in the third century A.D. Sanskrit inscriptions of the fifth century A.D. found in Funan indicate the prevalence of the Indian art of writing and the progress of Indian culture in both Funan and Cambodia. The same phenomenon is also observed in both Malaya and Thailand, where Hindu colonies sprang up at about the same time, as archaeology

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and epigraphy attest. In the sixth century A.D., Funan passed under the control of its northern neighbour, the kingdom of Cambodia, and lost its individuality. Cambodia's first great king was Jayavarman II (9th century A.D.). The country had then the good fortune to possess a series of powerful rulers like Indravarman, Yaśovarman, Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. At various times they extended their authority over Lower Burma, northern Malaya, Campā, etc. As in the case of Burma, so in the case of Cambodia, Kublai Khan established his thraldom over this country for sometime, but its days of glory were passed. In the days of its glory, it had become a small replica of India in religion, literature, art and architecture philosophy and way of life. Angkor Thom and Angkor Vat are its gift to the world. Unfortunately this wonderful country with its wonderful civilization was subjected to ruthless inroads by the Annamites and the Ṭhais, till Cambodia was forced to throw herself into the arms of the French in 1854.

The third lecture of Dr. Majumdar deals with the kingdom of Campā, which roughly corresponds to South Vietnam. The kingdom of Campā was founded in the second century A.D. and its first known ruler was Śrī Hāra, who is believed by Dr. Majumdar to be the same person whom the Chinese annalists call K'iu-lien. The first Sanskrit inscription of Campā is that of Vo-canh which was issued in the second or third century A.D. Dr. Majumdar gives a brief outline of the history of this kingdom from this time onwards, stating how the successors of K'iu-lien often attacked the Chinese territory in the North, thus initiating a struggle with the North, thus initiating a struggle with the North which continued for about one thousand years.

One of Campā's earlier rulers was Bhadravarman who ruled from Amarāvaī. Other parts of the kingdom included Vijaya, Kauṭhāra and Pāṇduraṅga. There was frequent foreign invasion from North Vietnam, Cambodia and even from the distant island-empire of the Śailendras. Chronic rebellion and political instability continued for long years, although Harivarman IV was able, for a time, to restore order. Another able ruler of Campā was Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva (12th century), but his country was occupied 1190 A.D. by Jayavarman VII, the Grand Monarch of Cambodian

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history, for nearly 30 years. Campā however regained independence subsequently and bravely faced the invasion of Kublai Khan, but it succumbed to Annamite invasion in 1471. The Cams were continually pressed towards the far South and in 1822, the last Cam king, unable to bear the oppression of the Annamites, left his petty State in the extreme South of Campā and sought refuge in Cambodia. Campā was Hinduized to a considerable extent and a major part of its Cam population retain their Hinduism till today. In the days of their greatness, they followed, to speak in general terms, Indian religious systems, studied assiduously various branches of Indian literature, moulded their life according to the social institutions of India, introduced the Indian art of writing, besides Indian art and architecture.

The last lecture of Dr. Majumdar deals with Suvarṇadvīpa or Indonesia. He begins with a reference to the Sanskrit records discovered in Borneo (Kalimantan), dated about c. 400 A.D., and those of West Java (c. 450 or beginning of the sixth century A.D.), and then introduces us to the history of Ho-ling and to the Śailendras, whose history he has done so much to elucidate. In the early part of the 10th century, the centre of political gravity shifts to East Java. Here was established, in the last decade of the 13th century, the Hinduized state of Majapahit, which held sway over a large part of the Malayo-Indonesian world for nearly two centuries, till it was overwhelmed by Islamic invaders in the beginning of the 16th century. Many Hindus fled from Java and, together with the Hindu culture, they found shelter in the island of Bali, which was Indianised about 1000 years before this catastrophe. Hinduism is still a living force in Bali. Java and Sumatra constituted in the ancient period, a miniature-India in many respects and Indian religious systems; even its literature, art and architecture, art of writing, law, social institutions, etc., flourished here in massive grandeur for over 1000 years and they hold their sway in Bali even today. Dr. Majumdar's mastery of the subject is shown by the fact that within the compass of only 39 pages, he has presented the history and culture of four countries of South-East Asia in a nut-shell, which, in itself, is a remarkable feat.

H. B. SARKAR.

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THE TARIKH-I-BANGLA-I-MAHABAT JANGI of Yusuf Ali Khan. Persian Text, edited with Notes and an Introduction by Dr. Abdus Subhan. Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, pp. 205+47+IX, 1970. Price Rs. 25/-.

The Asiatic Society has placed all students of Bengal history under great obligation by publishing the above contemporary work, and the editor Dr. Abdus Subhan has rendered an equally great service to the cause of scholarship by collating and establishing the text on the basis of six manuscripts of this work found in different Manuscripts Libraries, and editing it with notes and by contributing a scholarly introduction. The *Tarikh-i-Bengal-i-Mahabat Jangi* was written by a contemporary and an eye-witness of most of the incidents described by him. The work gives many new facts, not found in other contemporary works. Although the author Yusuf Ali was closely related to Alivardi Khan and his predecessors whom the latter had displaced (Sarfaraz Khan), yet he wrote his work with commendable detachment. At the same time he did not shrink from describing the shortcomings and even misdeeds of some members of Alivardi Khan's household. That was why Sir Jadunath Sarkar welcomed this work with the remark that "the value of this history lies in its authenticity." Other writers of the period, such as, Salimulla, author of *Tarikh-i-Bangal*, Karam Ali author of *Muzaffar Namah*, and Gulam Husain Salim, author of *Riyazut-Salatin*, appear sketchy in comparison with Yusuf Ali Khan. Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of *Siyarul-Mutakherin* too, like the above-mentioned writers, was indebted to Yusuf Ali for his detailed and accurate account of Bengal history of this period. The learned editor has pointed out discrepancies in the six Mss. of this work, and has prepared his text after a close study and comparison of them all. He gives a description of merits and demerits of all these copies. The editor has constructed a rough sketch of the author's life-story, and has given a brief account of his other works, besides a detailed description of Ghulam Husain's indebtedness to him. He has rectified the errors committed by Charles Rieu, the Cataloguer of the British Museum Persian Mss., and by Jonathan Scott in his English translation of it. He calls Scott's translation a mistranslation, as it is faulty and misleading. He has also pointed out the mistakes of Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the latter's *Bengal*

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Nawabs. He has also shown the mistakes in the English translation of this work by Arthur Hughes. The learned editor has devoted five years to the scholarly work of collation and edition of the *Tarikh-i-Bangla-i-Mahabat Jangi.* We look forward to the publication of the authentic English translation of this work by the learned editor.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

RIAZUL ISLAM: INDO PERSIAN RELATIONS; pp. xxiv—287; Iranian Cultural Foundation; published by order of H. I. M. Aryamahr Shahanshah of Iran; 1970; price not stated.

Although the name of the book embossed on the binding and on its spine is simply *Indo-Persian Relations,* the subject is more correctly stated in its sub-title, "A study of the Diplomatic Relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran." And even that does not do full justice to the connotation as, different to most histories written with the northern periphery, it gives a fairly correct interpretation of the relations of Iran with the Bahmanis and Bahmani Succession States. The book begins with the death of Timur, and taking the reader through the intricacies of the relationship between Babur and the early Safawīs, Humayun's varied relations with Shah Tahmasp, the relations of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb with Shah 'Abbas I and his descendants, bringing history down to the climactic invasion of Nadir Shah, his annexation of large parts of the Panjab by the Treaty of Shalimar, and the helplessness of the later Mughals in the face of Iran. There is a chapter on the interplay of literature, art and commerce between the two countries. The book ends with eleven Appendices, a Bibliography covering 16 pages and a good Index. There is just one map of "India, Iran and the neighbouring countries", but the period indicated by political divisions is not shown while some of the entries are not correct. There are six good plates, one in colour, depicting the relationship between the Ṣafawīs on the one hand and Humayun, Jahangir and Shah Jahan on the other.

Although the theme of the book is the relationship between Mughals and Iran, a third party, that of the Uzbegs has got to be dealt with, and the learned author has sifted their history from the authorities at his disposal. It was not merely two races, the

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Chaghatais and Ṣafawīs whose relationship mattered but also the Turanians of what is now called Uzbekistan, who had to be reckoned with. Babar's original home was an Uzbeg town, Fergnana and as the learned author stresses, there was another affinity between the two and that was one of religion. For while the Ṣafawīs were staunch Shī'ah, both the Chaghataīs and the Uzbegs were Sunnīs. The game which the Mughals played was naturally one of alliance with the Uzbegs although the Ṣafawīs under Tahmasp, 'Abbas the Great and 'Abbas II were personalities to be reckoned with.

The author has given a concise account of Humayun's flight from India to Iran after his defeat at Chausa and Qannauj. He says that from the beginning the Shah tried to convert Humayun to Shī'ism and "even threatened to immolate him with all his followers" if he did not accept that religion. He then recounts Jauhar's story of the Qāẓī of the capital presenting him with three papers, "the last of which was particularly objectionable." He says that in the end Humayun had to recite its contents in the presence of the Shah "thus signifying his acceptance of the Shī'ah faith." As a matter of fact it is nowhere mentioned that any of these papers contained the Shī'ah creed and like Sukumar Ray (*Humayun in Persia*) the author only "reconstructs" the story according to circumstantial evidence. It is also noticeable that the chronology of these important events is not uniformly related by our authorities, Jauhar Aftābchī and Bāyazīd Bayāt.

It is strange that while Qandahar was regarded as "the Key to the Empire of India" by the Ṣafawī poet who sang of the victory of Shah 'Abbas II, the struggle for the great fort did not come in the way of friendly relations between the Mughals and the Ṣafawīs. As the author says, "the outstanding feature of the Indo-Persian rivalry over Qandahar was prestige, and prestige was vital for the medieval Asian monarch. The occupation of Qandahar by the Ṣafawīs was followed by pseudo-apology on the part of the victor and the continuation of "friendly relations between the two empires." Thus when Qandahar fell to the Persians in June 1622 Shah 'Abbas I sent two envoys to Jahangir with a message "full of casuistic explanations and assurances of friendship." The same process was followed by Shah 'Abbas II after his reconquest of Qandahar in February 1649, when the Shah sent a letter to Shah

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Jahan "offering an explanation of his invasion and expressing the hope that this will not affect mutual amity"!

The author has given a short history of another set of tripartite relations, viz., the Deccan, Iran and the Mughals. The history of the Deccan has been cursorily told, but what is evident is that while the policy of the Mughals with regard to the Deccan was one of constant expansion, Ṣafawī Iran was interested mostly in her prestigious influence in the Deccan cemented by racial ties with the Quṭb Shāhīs and religious and cultural ties with the Quṭb Shāhīs, the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the Niẓām Shāhīs. With political rivalries in the north-west, Iran could well use this influence as a lever against the Mughals in that region.

The eleven appendices to the book attempt to clarify certain controversial points in the narrative, the last appendix contains a detailed discussion on the Sources.

The book is well documented and well printed, though the binding could have been better and stronger.

H. K. Sherwani

JABALPUR (TRIPURI), PAST AND PRESENT. Editors: Dr. Rajbali Pandey and Dr. Baij Nath Sharma. Published by Jabalpur University on the occasion of XXXIInd session of the Indian History Congress, price Rs. 5/-, pages 37.

The first article and easily the best one comes from the pen of Dr. Raj Bali Pandey who deals with the history of the rise and growth of Jabalpur-Tripuri from the hazy past to the 13th century, thus covering its pre-historic and historic period. The study has utilised the available neolithic data for the pre-historic period and literary, epigraphic and other types of archaeological evidence bearing on the historic period. The story refers to the days of Asura-occupation of Tripuri, which was later on supplanted by Aryan culture. He has told us how this Aryanised society figured in Paurāṇic-Epic literature and how it fared in the days of the Mauryas, the Graeco-Scythians, the Sātvāhanas and the Śaka Kṣatrapas. The impact of the Gupta rule, of the Parivrājaka mahārājas, and later on, of the Haihayas or the Kalacuris, whose history is almost coeval with the later phase of the ancient history

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of Jabalpur–Tripuri, has been narrated with his accustomed ability. The author brings the story of the region up to the 13th century A.D.

The second article also well–written, comes from the pen of Prof. D. S. Chauhan. After a brief reference to the dissolution of the Kalacuri power, hastened by the attacks of the Candellas of Khajuraho and the Paramaras of Malwa, the author introduces us to the history of the dynasty of the Gond rulers, of which the real founder seems to have been Kharji, believed to be the same as Dadi Rai. The most outstanding ruler of this region was the famous Rāṇī Durgāvatī (1549–64), under whose able and affectionate administration Gondwana, of which Jabalpur region constituted a part, became rich and prosperous. Akbar's general Asaf Khan invaded Gondwana. The self–immolation of Durgāvati in defending the honour of the country is a saga of rare patriotism, but she could not save its independence. Gondwana thus became a feudatory of the Mughals. The history of this feudatory State under various rulers is taken up to the middle of the 18th century when it was subjected to frequent Maratha raids.

Prof. K. C. Gupta continues the story of Jabalpur from the end of the 18th century to our own times. It has been stated that, with the disintegration of the Mughal power, the authority of the Jabalpur region passed into the hands of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1797. Unfortunately, the rapaciousness of the Maratha revenue collectors and the depredations of the Piṇḍāris ruined the economy of that area. The British troops found it opportune to occupy the area in 1818 and a provisional government was set up, but the unexpected Bundela uprising of 1842 burst upon the scene and Jabalpur became involved in it. Hirde Singh played a great part in it, though without much effect. When the Great Uprising of 1857 took place, Jabalpur did not lag behind, but it was suppressed cruelly. The freedom movement did not however die out and Jabalpur's contribution to it through the Indian National Congress, the Terrorist Organisations, Seva Samitis, etc., has been recounted with details, till 1947, when India became free. This paper is also well–written and informative.

The brochure also contains a brief history of the University of Jabalpur founded in 1957.

H. B. SARKAR

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INDIAN CIVIL JUDICIARY IN MAKING, 1800–33, by Chittaranjan Sinha, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 209.

As the title indicates, the book deals with the evolution of Judicial System in India after Cornwallis up to the time of Bentinck. After an introductory chapter describing briefly the system from 1765 to 1800, the author describes in detail the gradual evolution of the system under the following heads, in separate chapters: Indian Judges (occupying lower grades), District Judges, Collectors, Provincial Courts of Appeal, Sadar Dewani Adalat, and the Supreme Court (with special reference to the conflict between the Court and the Bengal Administration). There are quite a large number of books dealing with different aspects of the subject, in different chapters along with the general history. The author has given a very clear and critical account of the evolution of the whole system up to 1833 which would be very useful to general readers. While admitting the great merits of the judicial system introduced by the British as compared to the previous one which it replaced, the author has rightly pointed out its defects, laying particular stress upon "the delays and expenses of obtaining justice which ruined many and often prevented sufferers from seeking redress." Unfortunately, the author's comments are still applicable to a large extent even in free India, and the number of cases pending for five, or six years, or even more, even in the High Court of Calcutta today are simply staggering. Though not claiming any originality the author has done a good work by holding before the general readers a clear picture of how the judicial system of India has grown up by stages. An item of special interest is the discussion on the relation between the Executive and the Judiciary (pp. 149 ff.) which has been a subject of keen dispute between the British Government and the Indian National Congress down to the last days of the British rule, and has not lost its importance even today.

A supplementary volume bringing the account up to the end of the British period would be very welcome. The printing and get-up are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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GANDHIJI IN BIHAR, by Dr. K. K. Dutta: (Published by the Government of Bihar, pp. 244 + VI + 19 plates, price Rs. 5/-, cloth bound Rs. 6/–, 1969).

The year 1969 saw widespread celebrations in India and abroad as the year of Gandhi's birthday centenary. Outstanding personalities and institutions took part in the celebrations and subsequently released volumes about Gandhiji's mission in life, of the Ahimsa doctrine, of Non–violence and of Satyagraha. It is a suitable occasion for each state in India to associate itself with the celebrations and Bihar has thought fit to produce a volume on Gandhiji's mission in Bihar. The events in Bihar which necessitated his lecture tours are all outlined here and they are published along with a record of the speeches delivered by him on each occasion.

Bihar has earned an historic name as the seat of King Janaka of Vedic fame, as the province where Mahavira and the Buddha preached, where the University of Nalanda of world fame shed its light and where the first President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was born. Bihar became an independent province in 1912 and in 1917 Gandhiji was first invited there to hear the appeal from the much–afflicted ryots of Champaran who were subjected to oppression by the European Indigo planters. The moral force which he exerted on the Employers to relieve the sufferings of the ryots was tremendous; but the authorities who were interested in the European planters issued notice under section 144 which Gandhiji disobeyed more due to the dictates of the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience, than out of disrespect for the lawful authority. (Pages 12 and 13). His statement issued on the occasion showing his mettle reads like the Sermon on the Mount. This was the first time in the State when the authorities experienced the mental calibre of Gandhi, a believer in soul power. During his tours, he made public his "unflinching regard for truth and fearlessness." The Champaran episode fostered the cause of nationalism. Bihar also responded to the clarion call for the Non–Co–operation movement and Satyagraha of 1919. After release from Yerravada Jail in 1924, he toured Bihar in 1925 and 1927 preaching his usual gospels of the dignity of the charka and the need to use Khaddar and Swadesi goods. The earthquake of 15th January 1934 and the death, desolation and devastation it left, moved him to work for the relief committee,

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along with Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The communal tension there also warranted his campaigns to restore peace and harmony in the State.

These features of Gandhiji's visit and tours are covered in the VI chapter of the book. It is a record of the speeches extensively delivered by Gandhiji and the correspondence between the Government and Gandhiji over cases of importance. His speeches in 1946 and 1947 sounded notes of warning against growing demoralisation in the Congress and the corruption in the administration.

The book is moderately priced and the outer cover in Khadi cloth is typical of the intention of the Government to foster hand-made products to the extent to which it is possible. The author, the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, has done his best to deserve the expectation of the Government regarding the production of a suitable book for the occasion.

K. K. PILLAY

PATNA COMMISSIONER'S RECORDS SERIES, Vol. I (State Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna, 1965), pp. i–iii, 96, Ed. K. K. Datta; Vol. II (State Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna, 1970), pp. 446, i–x, Ed. K. K. Datta.

The Commissionership of the Patna Division is a key job, the Division being the nerve-centre of the administration of Bihar. The two volumes under review provide a descriptive list of correspondence between the Commissioner and the Secretary to the Government of Bengal from 1853 to 1875. The voluminous correspondence, originally kept in *bastas* (bundles), has been sorted out with meticulous care and then classified, numbered and arranged chronologically.

The papers listed deal with a variety of subjects: general administration, law and order, police, army, public works, railways, roads, irrigation, post and telegraph, land and other sources of revenue, municipalities and local self-government, education and social reform.

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The importance of the office of the Commissioner of the Patna Division was never better realised than during the revolt of 1857–8 when a large part of Bihar was aflame. No wonder quite a lot of papers listed deal with the uprising and the measures adopted by the Government to suppress it.

Students interested in Anglo–Nepalese relations will also find the Patna Commissioner's records yielding valuable information regarding the role of Nepal in the revolt of 1857–8, slave traffic on the border, extradition of criminals and delimitation of Indo-Nepalese boundary.

Although both the volumes have a useful glossary of Indian terms, neither has an index—a notable omission, indeed.

The compilation of such an exhaustive list calls for considerable industry and thorough knowledge of archival science. Dr. Datta, the veteran historian, and his assistants deserve the gratitude of scholars for having provided them with a guide to the invaluable source materials for the reconstruction of the history of Bihar.

KANCHANMOY MOJUMDAR.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY–SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, Volume IV, edited by R. N. Dandekar and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1970, pp. 410; price Rs. 55.

This is the fourth and final volume of the proceedings of the Twenty–Sixth International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in January 1964 and contains select papers presented in different sections pertaining to South–East Asian studies, East Asian studies, Islamic studies and African studies. A compendium of research papers of high quality by scholars from different parts of the world, this volume brings to our notice, the rich heritage of the orient on the one hand and the pattern of the development of different institutions in the evolution of the history and culture of different countries on the other. The subjects dealt with range from early feudalism to State–Capitalism in modern times, from Javanese and Japanese semantics to pre–Bukhari Hadith

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literature, and from the Triple Alliance of 1882 to the militarism in modern China, not to speak of other varieties one meets with. It is not possible or necessary to refer to all the papers published in the volume. But a few deserve mention. In the sections pertaining to South-East Asian studies there are eleven papers and four summaries; of these mention must be made of the one on Feudalism in Cambodia (c. 4th century—14th century A.D.) by Radhakrishna Chaudhury—a fairly detailed study based mainly on inscriptions. V. Raghavan's paper on 'Cambodian Sanskrit Inscriptions—A Literary Study' not only studies the inscriptional compositions from a literary point of view but also corrects several lines which have been incorrectly reproduced before. In the section on East Asian studies Erwin Reifler's paper on the Archaeological and Metrological Evidence for an Indus Valley and Sumero-Babylonian origin or the Ancient Chinese measuring system is of great interest. Many more interesting and informative papers in the volume can be mentioned.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

THE MAKING OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: DETERMINANTS, INSTITUTIONS, PROCESSES AND PERSONALITIES by Jayantaniya Bandyopadhyaya, (Allied Publishers, Calcutta 13, 1970; pp. xi + 286, Price Rs. 20/-).

Policy-making and planning, both domestic and foreign, have reached such a vital stage in India's politics at present that a real assessment of the same has to be made in the national and international interests. The complexity of the problem has been further aggravated by the incessant efforts of vested interests to sidetrack the issue on narrow grounds. The author of this book, himself a former distinguished member of the diplomatic corps in India, feels the need to study these aspects on rational, pragmatic grounds to serve as an eye-opener to the personalities guiding the destinies of India. He specially stresses the need to observe the short and long term politics which should be dynamic in character based upon the concept of a permanent and universal goal, namely that of "National interests". We have had a good number of Realists and Idealists from Kautalya, Asoka, Akbar, Nehru and

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Gandhi to guide us but the need of the hour is of a political thinker, and the author regrets that even in the 20th century India has not produced a single realist thinker. Decision-making in India in the two spheres has been the privilege of the elite, highly westernised and alienated from the masses. This elite still holds the field with its old outlook and prejudices not attuned to the changing needs and times. While analysing the relation between national interest and foreign policy the author outlines three basic factors namely Security ouside frontiers, National development and World order. These are interlinked with the diplomacy of the world order.

The author analyses in the five chapters of the book the various determinants of foreign policy-making as "Geography, political traditions, the national value system, economic development, international milieu and the domestic milieu; and the whole process of policy formulation, in which at least in a democracy public opinion, political parties, pressure groups, Parliament, the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Foreign office play a more or less important role" (page 2). A marked transformation in the character of the international politics of India has been brought about, especially after 1947 by the emergence into the international arena of a large number of new Asian and African States marking the age of the end of historical imperialism. The part played by the U.N.O. in this context is well assessed. At the same time, the work of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, Congress Parliamentary Party and the Executive in shaping the policy as also the distinctive role played by Nehru, the foreign minister and the other parties are outlined. The dominance of Nehru with his assertive decision in the field of relations with Kashmir, Goa, China and Tibet is a feature of importance during his Premiership. In Chapter IV the author goes deep into the working of the Ministry of External Affairs consisting of 21 divisions with a network of 168 missions and posts abroad, supplying information based on covert and overt reports. Even a specimen copy of the information sent by two embassies is furnished. The author has much to say regarding its structure, composition and functioning, in addition to the recommendation of the Pillai Committee on the same. The greatest weakness in its functioning is brought to notice while

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sketching the cultural diplomacy of the foreign office. A specimen of the personnel selected for such an office is portrayed, in rather depressing terms on pages 184–186 of the book. Hence the warrant for the statement from the Russian diplomat "But most Indian diplomats do not represent their culture, their country or their people" (page 185).

The ministry lacks two vital units, a research unit and a propaganda planning unit. At the same time the intellectual challenges of the office are least met as in the view of the author: "in this respect, the Indian foreign service has been seriously deficient from its very inception, largely due, I think, to its administration by I.C.S. personnel. The best products of the Universities are recruited, at least until recently but the I.C.S. did its best to convert these talented young men and women into bureaucratised and superficial snobs, with a certain flare for drinking, dancing, polished conversation and a gay life in general, and something verging on contempt for any intellectual or scholarly effort". (page 216). This is, as we are made to think, no encomium to the working of the personnel. Nor did we find, till recently, any coordinating machinery in the section. Chapter V details the working of the Department with Nehru as its head, ruling in a monopolistic manner, with his global outlook. It is said that there were many cross-currents in Nehru's intellectual make-up and he made a broad approach to national and international politics in which idealism and realism, the long view and the short, would be conciliated into an equilibrium or close approximation to it as circumstances warrant. Here a good assessment of Nehru's relations with Tibet, China, Pakistan (with regard to Kashmir) and Goa is given with special reference to his failings in the field. The oft-quoted guideline of India's foreign policy is Non-alignment and this has to be studied in the context of the recent treaty with the U.S.S.R. One cannot fail to notice in this context a remark by another contemporary (Subrata Bannerjee) that 'Nehru, with his global outlook had failed to see that Indian natural interests lay in South Asia". The policy followed during the post-Nehru period is specially significant as greater stress is being made on four factors, namely, greater attention being paid to India's neighbouring countries, strengthening of economic ties, bestowal of fresh thought on cultural diplomacy and development of institutions necessary for a perfect formulation and implemen-

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tation of a successful foreign policy. The author regrets to conclude that the abandonment of Nehru's idealism has resulted in "the onset of an overpowering pragmatism that has imparted to India's foreign policy after Nehru in some ways an uncertain, groping and even fumbling character." (page 267).

The book is an interesting account of the working of India's foreign policy and it is specially noteworthy for the guide lines suggested to make the policy more effective. Views may differ but the fact remains that there is much spade work to be undertaken to set the house in order.

K. K. PILLAY.

A HISTORY OF THE CAMBODIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, 1863–1955, by Dr. V. M. Reddi, published by Shri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, pages 228; price Rs. 8/-.

The author undertook and completed the present research-project under the guidance of Dr. B. R. Chatterji. He had the rare fortune of getting funds to visit Cambodia, South Vietnam and Thailand for field-study, a rare phenomenon in India, because, such study-tours are ordinarily frowned upon by the Reserve Bank of India or the Central Government on the ground of paucity of foreign exchange. The exception made in the present case has definitely improved the quality of the work. The study of the subject is however fraught with difficulties, some of which have been pointed out by the author in his preface to the work. Apart from the fact that an author writing on the subject dealt with here must necessarily have the knowledge of French and Khmer, there are other inherent difficulties, because, while the French colonial rule as in Cambodia have presented only the official point of view, important party papers were very often prescribed. Besides, authentic data bearing on the activities of the Khmer Issarak, Khmer Viet-minh movements and on the life and activities of Son Ngoc Thanh are very meagre indeed, though their contribution towards accelerating the pace of independance of Cambodia was considerable. The author's knowledge of French and interview

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with some of the leaders of the drama have enabled him to make an objective assessment of the situation.

Cambodia, with its world-famous temple of Angkor Vat, had brilliant history and, in the ancient period, its writ ran over a considerable part of S.E. Asia. The tremendous effort to build numerous temples and frequent invasions from the Thais and the Annamites ultimately sapped the power of the Kingdom. It continued to maintain a precarious existence within a ring of hostile neighbours. It is only in recent years that nationalism has been a factor to reckon with. This spirit of nationalism has fed the stream of independence and Dr. Reddi has given us a good factual account of it.

In the introductory portion of the work (pp. 1–14) the author has enabled us to take a birds' eye view of the land and the people, but background-study on the establishment of the French-protectorate is rather inadequate, as the period between the 15th and the 19th centuries has been covered in about two pages. The account then becomes fuller and we see how sandwiched between a powerful Thailand and Vietnam, Cambodia tried to save its integrity and independence from the rapaciousness of its hostile neighbours, but it did not completely succeed in either, as some of its provinces were annexed by Thailand and Vietanam. On other occasions, these hostile states tried to nibble at its territorial integrity. In this predicament, king Norodom (crowned in 1864 and ruled up to 1904) turned to the French and entered into a secret treaty with her on the 11th of August, 1863; this is known as the Treaty of Oudong. It was no doubt entered into with a spirit of give and take, but it turned out to be the first step in the process of creating a puppet-state. Neither the king nor the people liked this tutelage and there was an uprising during 1864-77 and a bigger one during 1885–87. These risings were, of course, crushed.

The author then takes us to the maze of Cambodian politics in between 1887 and 1945. In 1887, the French Government ushered in the so called Indo-Chinese Union, comprising the colony of Cochin-China and the Protectorates of Tongking, Annam and Cambodia. Laos was added to the Union a few years later. The

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author has described the powers and functions of the Central Government of the Union, its local administration, its finance, judiciary, economic development, social services, etc. The French Government took particular care to put checks on the growth of nationalism. The author has observed (p. 66) that by careful handling of the Cambodian traditional 'power elite viz., the king, the royal family, the civil servants, the French succeeded in ruling the country, keeping an illusive facade of autonomy, but it was nothing but unadulterated colonial rule. The growth of nationalism was baulked at every stage and this was facilitated by the scarcity of leaders. This was not surprising, as education was hardly promoted by the French colonial rulers.

The author has then described Cambodia in the throes of World war II. It saw Japanese occupation, which resulted in the grant of independence, subject to certain restrictions imposed by war conditions. The positive and negative aspects of Japanese occupation have been described by the author with competence. The end of the war saw the come-back of the colonial power. To the old problems were now added the problems of recovery of some western provinces taken by Thailand in 1941 and the threat posed by a resurgent republican Vietnam. King Sihanoek thought it necessary, with a view to regain lost provinces, to enter into the compact known to history as *Modus Vivendi* with the French in 1946. A free Cambodia movement however started and political parties grew in strength. The king ultimately took power into his own hands, but, unable to meet the unreasonable demands of the French, he went into a second self-imposed exile "to alert world opinion", as the problem before him was then, in his own words "to choose between France and my people". With loss of face at Dien Bien Fu and world forces operating in favour of Cambodia, the country became ultimately free in the real sense of the term. French protection had probably saved it earlier from complete disintegration, and when this historic purpose was served, the country became free.

The author has shown commendable critical acumen and the work has been an eminently readable one. The price, considering the quality of the work and the number of pages, is quite moderate.

H. B. SARKAR

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LORD NORTHBROOK'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION—1872–76, by Edward C. Moulton, Asia Publishing House, 1968, Pp. VIII + 312. Price Rs. 30.

This is a welcome addition to the literature on British administration in India during the 19th century. The general impression of Northbrook's administration has been expressed by V. A. Smith in the following words: "His period of office presents few incidents worthy of special notice". But this is somewhat belied by the book under review. The author has emphasised some important aspects of Northbrook's administration and presented them with fullness of details and in a critical spirit unaffected by any personal bias which often marks a biographical treatise. Reference has been made to Northbrook's bold stand against the decision of the Government of Bengal to extend elementary education by retrenching higher education. This policy, initiated by Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and supported by Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, was condemned by the Bengali leaders for reasons which have been very fairly stated by the author (p. 63) in words highly creditable for an English author. Referring to the Government resolution on the subject he observes:

"It urged the Bengal Government 'to reduce to the utmost the charge upon the State for English education' and to do everything possible to promote vernacular education. This resolution, which was subsequently published, aroused great alarm among Indian leaders, many of whom undoubtedly believed that the Government was deliberately attempting to thwart the growth of the already influential English-educated class and that its motives were partly political. These beliefs may not have been altogether unfounded, considering the hostility of many of the leading members of Council towards educated Indians. In about fifty towns throughout the province irate Bengalis held public meetings to protest against the Government's policy. A public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall under the Chairmanship of Ramanath Tagore and attended by most of the educated community adopted a memorial to the Secretary of State. The memorialists admitted the importance of extending vernacular education but maintained that this should not be done at the expense of higher education".

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This somewhat long passage is quoted in order to revive the memory of a critical situation which at one time threatened the promotion of higher education in Bengal and was brought about by a type of reactionary policy which was not a new feature, but seldom manifested in such a blatant manner. The author has done well in bringing back the memory of this unfortunate episode which is now well-nigh forgotten. He is quite right in giving credit to Northbrook for undoing the evil policy with which even the Secretary of State had refused to interfere. Similarly Northbrook showed a liberal and sympathetic spirit by opposing the re-imposition of income tax and fighting till the last against the abolition of customs duty for the import of cotton which Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, forced upon the Government of India. On this as well as on the final decision to remove the Gaekwar of Baroda for mal-administration, which is all too well-known to require detailed mention, the author has brought out fresh documentary materials which place Northbrook in a more favourable light than what would appear from the action which his Government had actually taken, or rather was forced to take under pressure from the impetuous Secretary of State.

The author has quoted a mass of documentary evidence to show that Northbrook was fully conscious of the growing unpopularity of the British Government in India which was not a little due to the unsympathetic and condescending attitude of British officials in their social behaviour towards even very eminent Indians. He tried to remove this evil by his own example. As the author puts it, "Northbrook's genuine liking for Indians and his desire to reduce European prejudice towards them was reflected in his efforts to promote social contacts with them. In his opinion the most suitable approach was to invite Indians to small dinner parties and informal gatherings rather than to Government House balls" (p. 16). Northbrook, on his part, twice visited the Calcutta home of Jotindramohan Tagore, the Secretary of the British Indian Association, and was entertained there by amateur dramatic performances and Indian music followed by elaborate refreshments" (p. 17). Northbrook "publicly promised that his Government would "use great deliberation" and consider the "feelings, prejudices, and interests" of the people in legislating for India" (p. 18).

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"To help ensure this Northbrook was anxious to have more effective Indian representation in the Legislative Council" (p. 18). Urged by this motive he nominated two distinguished members of the British Indian Association to his council" (p. 18). The first of these was Ramanath Tagore, a leader of the Brahmo Samaj and of the British Indian Association, the most important political organization of the time. "Although his duties were purely legislative, Northbrook occasionally consulted him on executive matters. He referred to Tagore as his "Bengalee adviser" and upon his retirement after the normal two year term expressed "sincere thanks" for his services." "Both in Council and upon several occasions of importance in the course of the past two years", Northbrook wrote, "I have received from you valuable advice and assistance which has been of great use to the Government." In his place Northbrook appointed Narendrakrishna Deb, another prominent member of the British Indian Association, to whom he later paid tribute as a useful assistant in legislation (p. 18).

The foreign policy of Northbrook, which has been dealt with in detail, also shows the same liberal and sympathetic attitude. It was mainly due to his conciliatory policy that war with Burma was averted, and the kingdom remained independent for another decade. He proposed to follow the same policy of conciliation towards Afghanistan and steadily refused to adopt the dictatorial policy of Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, of coercing the Amir into accepting a British Agent at Kabul. Though the members of the Governor-General's Council unanimously agreed with his view, Salisbury refused to yield, and Northbrook declared that if the Cabinet adhered to its proposed policy "he would be glad to be relieved from the task of carrying (it) out" (p. 250).

In the meantime he had written to the British Government "to be relieved of his office in the spring of 1876". So Salisbury did not force Northbrook to carry out the home Government's policy during his last months in office. But Salisbury selected Lord Lytton as the successor of Northbrook and "gave him secret instructions to carry on a forward policy in Kabul" (p. 252). Lord Lytton followed the instructions and the tragic results of the second Afghan War fully vindicated the wisdom and foresight of Northbrook.

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The author has discussed at some length the real ground of Northbrook's resignation. In the letter of resignation, referred to above, Northbrook clearly said: "My reasons for making this request are entirely private one" (p. 258). But the view was persistently held, even by his closest friends, that Northbrook's resignation was due to differences with Salisbury, particularly over the tariff reform and the policy towards Afghanistan. After a prolonged discussion of the whole matter the author has stated his own conclusions in the following words:

"It is clear from this analysis that differences occurred between Northbrook and Salisbury from the beginning of their official relationship, that these differences became progressively more serious, and that they caused Northbrook increasing anxiety. By September 1875 it was obvious that his views on many major questions of Indian administration were irreconcilable with those of Salisbury and the Home Government. 'Despite Northbrook's claim that he was resigning for private reasons, it is hardly conceivable that these differences had no influence on his decision. Indeed, there is much to indicate that they were the principal reasons" (p. 273).

The author begins his concluding chapter with the words "Northbrook's retirement in April 1876 marked the end of a momentous Viceroyalty. Yet, public opinion, especially in India, was sharply divided in its reaction to his resignation and in its verdict on his administration" (p. 281). It is not possible to discuss this question in detail, but on the whole, on finishing the book, one would perhaps be more inclined to agree with the first of the two sentences just quoted above, than with the cryptic remarks of V. A. Smith quoted at the beginning of this review.

The book is well-written and throws much new and refreshing light on the career of Lord Northbrook in India. The printing and finish of the book are excellent.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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INDIA AND EAST AFRICA: A HISTORY OF RACE RELATIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1890–1939; by Dr. Robert G. Gregory, Syracuse University (U.S.A.). (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. XVII + 555, including Index. Price: £ 7.0.0 (Britain); $ 24.00 (U.S.A.).

Professor Gregory has produced a long awaited and much needed encylopediac work on the relationships between Britain, India, and East Africa. Investigation was begun in 1962 and the writing was completed in the summer of 1969. It is solidly researched, interestingly written, and it does not belabor trivia. The bibliography is select yet lists the housing of primary materials in each of the three regions dealt with in the book.

An introductory chapter focuses on the long chronology of Indian involvement in East Africa. The author discerns five chronological sequences into which India and East Africa can be divided, and he has selected to explore the fourth time span, the especially crucial years from 1890 to 1939. A brief description of the three earlier periods is presented, and speculations on ancient Indian–African trade are advanced. Gregory systematically presents varied arguments relative to Indian activity in Africa, but he does not profess unreasonable conclusions.

Many writers have discussed the origin of Indians in East Africa. Standard interpretation is that many are descendants of laborers who worked on the Uganda Railway at the turn of the Twentieth Century. Not only does Gregory show us that Indians were in East Africa as early as the 7th Century B.C., but he distinguishes between the later immigrants as Hindu or Muslim. The Hindu came without his family and was primarily a money-lender (characterised by Livingstone as the villain in the slave trade), whereas the Muslim arrived with his family and became a small *dukawallah*. It was the latter who was most frequently accused by European settlers of living alone and sending all his profits out of Africa to support his family in India.

Although this is primarily a book on race relations, it provides insight into the political and historical aspects of East Africa; more so than many definitive text books. The section dealing with German direct rule and its effect on Indians is excellent. One

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wonders, however, why the Indians felt that they should have been treated better than black Africans. The real problem was never that one race was treated less fairly than another by the British, but that all non-Europeans were discriminated against, often inhumanely, under the guise of Christian civilization.

An area of contention among scholars was the role of the Indian in Africa during World War I. Gregory amply shows that their role was less than heroic in many instances, but he also testifies that the Indian played a vital part in British victory. He concludes that the "local Indians' effort will always be somewhat questionable." This aura of accountability adds to the validity of this book.

Not all Indians championed the position of East African Indians, *i.e.*, that the colonies should be open to Indian settlement and ownership of land. Gandhi and his aide, Henry S. L. Polak, were vehemently anti-colonization because they believed that India should receive priority before expending valuable energy elsewhere. This philosophy was espoused particularly following World War I when the Indian community felt that they would be given control of the former German colony of Tanganyika.

The doctrine of "native paramountcy" is carefully analysed, as are the various commissions of inquiry that investigated Indian or European complaints in Africa. Indians became reconciled to an inferior status although many administrators in the Home and Colonial Offices had advocated Indian advancement in political and social matters. By 1939 the Indians "were no longer discriminated against by the Government in the sale of municipal property, and they enjoyed both electoral and office-holding privileges," in Kenya.

In addition to being a very thoroughly researched volume, *India and East Africa* is well written. Each chapter has a solid introductory paragraph, and all important personalities are given a brief biography within the text. The result is a precise, thorough work.

No volume of this length, however, is without minor flaws. Some appear to be editorial, others not. The term "native" is unacceptable today when speaking of African peoples. Similarly

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"Hottentot" is not presently used, yet they each slip into the text. Sleeping sickness in Uganda is mentioned in passing, yet it was significant to Indian–British–African relations. It was, in fact, a source of friction during the first decade of the 20th century during the great epidemic in Uganda. India refused to allow any Indian in East Africa with the disease to return home. Soldiers stationed in Uganda were exiled from India. In addition, several Indian plantations in Uganda were restricted, including Visram's, due to tsetse fly infestation, yet European concessions were given preferential consideration.

A cognitive aspect of this book are the quotes used to introduce each chapter. Except for the first, the source is not given until the reader comes across the same quote in the body of the text. Some quotes are out of context. Lugard is a case in point. He is quoted as proposing Indian colonization and settlement. Lugard's words are used to counter those of Eliot who proposed a "white colony." Lugard, although envisioning Indian settlement in Kenya, particularly in the malarial lowlands, proposed that the solution to the 'Indian Question' "would seem to lie in defining the area to be appropriated to British settlement, and granting to the settlers within this area representative government. . . ."* He was speaking of the highlands, and advocated segregation and discrimination. Lugard must not be viewed as a benevolent humanitarian espousing equality for mankind.

In spite of these minor discrepancies, Dr. Gregory has clearly presented a complex and unwieldy problem. *India and East Africa* is a volume which must be read and used by scholars involved in the area of Indian–British–African relations.

*Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, p. 321.

HARVEY G. SOFF

KARIAN EXCAVATIONS, by Sita Ram Roy. Published by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. 1966; pp. xi–28; price Rs. 4/–.

This small report records the study and interpretation of the finds from the archaeological excavations conducted at Karian, an ancient village in the District of Darbhanga in Bihar. The village

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is traditionally known as the birth-place of Udayanacharya, the celebrated 10th century philosopher of Mithila. Though the spade work at this site did not yield any positive evidence to associate the philosopher with it, it has thrown ample light on the material culture of the people of this part of the country in the period extending right from the Gupta Age down to the period closely following the 12th century A.D. The excavations revealed three occupational periods namely (a) Period I, covering the period before the 6th century A.D. with a cultural equipment similar to that of the Kushana and Gupta periods revealed by the Hastinapur excavations, (b) Period II, covering six centuries from the 6th to the 12th century A.D. with finds characteristic of the Pala period and (c) Period III, covering the period after the 12th century A.D. with antiquities which are characteristic of late medieval period. The archaeological finds include numerous terracotta objects like animal figurines, skin rubbers, balls, dabbars, antlers; glass beads and bangles, besides potteries like the red slipped ware, grey ware and structures of burnt brick.

The report carries a good number of line drawings and photographs. In these days of increasing demand for excavation reports throwing light on the every day life of the ancient people, this Report is certainly to be welcomed.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

HISTORY OF POSTAL ADMINISTRATION IN HYDERABAD: Vol. 1 (of series "The Philatelic and Postal History of Hyderabad), by M. A. Nayeem: (Bright Publishers, Sayeed Manzil, Saifabad, Hyderabad-4, 1970; Pp. XIV + 317 + 26 (Plates), Price Rs. 75/-.

The author has brought to bear a new dimension in historiography by adopting a novel course of combining history and public administration in this volume. As a keen student of medieval Indian History, he has presented here "a picture of the enthralling story of the birth and growth of Postal Institution in the Deccan in the 13th century to the great height it had attained in the mid twentieth century". A thorough and detailed study of all the avai-

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lable archival records and the works left by Badaoni, Ibn Batuta, Yahya Sirhindi and Abul-Fazl have been made to arrive at an exhaustive information regarding the functioning of the postal system in Hyderabad from the 13th century and it is no exaggeration to say that even the minutest details have not escaped his notice.

No Government can function effectively if the Postal and Transport departments are not organised on perfect lines. Due to their country-wide organisation, they require frequent overhauling and stream-lining to keep pace with the growing trends in society and Governmental work. While portraying these aspects, the author has shrewdly pointed out the successive stages of their expansion, as dictated by the needs of the times. The safety and quickness of the Postal Department depend on the active co-operation of the Railway, the Police, and the officials serving in the Postal Department as well as the public at large. Their coordination is of vital importance for maintaining the efficiency of the service. These aspects are covered in his book in 4 parts dealing with the evolution of postal communication, administration in the Deccan and early postal Administration in Hyderabad (1296 to 1857), history of postal Administration in Hyderabad (1857 to 1948), statutory evolution and transition and merger (1948 to 1950). *Barids* were the couriers or mail runners of Ala-ud-din's times and the distance (*krosa*) to be covered by them was specified. The Peshwas fixed the postal rate for private correspondence at four annas per tola. In the time of Akbar the *Dak Chawkis* functioned with the horse as the means of transportation. The Mir Bakshi was the head of the Postal Administration and he posted *Bakshis* and *Waguai Navis* to serve in the provinces. From the time of Emperor Shah Jahan postal services were given to persons on a contract basis.

The origin of the Public Post Office under the English East India Company dates from 1712. Asaf Jha II, the Nizam, introduced the Moghul system in his six provinces in 1774. As the Nizam had to be in touch with neighbouring rulers, he introduced the inter-state postal communication service with an elaborate scheme fixing the rate of postage. With the cession of the Northern Circars to the English East India Company in November 1766 by the Nizam and a treaty of alliance with them in 1790 a new

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chapter opens in the phase of the progress of the Department. The British Mail was sent through the Nizam's territories. The British Post Offices were administered by two British Postmasters–General when free franking of Nizam's Official Letters was undertaken. But, it is notable that the Nizam's Government was to bear the expenditure towards the establishment of the British Post Offices.

The promotion and expansion of the Department owe much to the ingenious brain of Nawab Mir Turab Abkhan, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State from 1853 to 1883. The old postal contract system was abolished in preference to departmental handling of the scheme. The field of the Postal Department was widened to cover a broad range of work as at present. The demarcation of powers and the rules framed thereunder are noted from page 99 to 106. From page 118 to the end, the evolution of the postal system with its Personnel administration, the powers and authorities of Postal Officials, the functions and duties of Postal Officials, the financial administration, the wide range of work of the Department as we see it today are all outlined. The functioning of the Dead Letter Office (now designated as Returned Letter Office), foreign mail service, combination cover systems, Postal budgets and the printing of Postal stamps and similar features of the Department work are described at length. It is interesting to learn that the first adhesive postage stamp of Hyderabad was issued in 1869. on Islamic pattern. The Postal agreement of 1882 between the Nizam and British signed by Sir Salar Jung and British Resident, W. B. Jones, ceased to operate with the integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union in 1950.

The various sketch maps provided are useful in enlightening the readers about the towns and rural areas, with their approaches, which were connected by a network of postal communication. The index on pages 312 to 317 and the Appendices on Pages I to VIII (illustrating the documents of the Nizam's Postal administration) are very useful. But for a few misprints here and there and the repetition of 3 paragraphs on page 62, the book is admirable in its conception and finish. The labour involved and the wide range of original sources used by the author add much credit to him. However, the book is so priced that it cannot come within easy reach of the reading public.

K. K. PILLAY

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STUDIES IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Motilal Banarsidass, 1971, pp. x+401. Price Rs. 45/-.

This is the revised and enlarged second edition of the book originally published in 1960. It is a collection of articles relating to the geography of ancient and medieval India published by the author in various periodicals. While the old edition contained about 30 articles presented in 22 chapters, in the present edition 45 articles have been presented in 29 chapters. Since the publication of the first edition, the book has been justly regarded as the standard work on the subject, and the wide knowledge and scholarship displayed in it by the learned author has received due recognition. The value of the present edition has been enhanced by the new materials incorporated in it, as stated above, and the students of ancient and medieval history would find it almost indispensable for their study. For the author has brought together scattered materials bearing upon the identification of many localities, and much valuable information about them. It is not necessary to give a detailed account of this well-known work. Unfortunately, the revised edition also is not free from some of the defects which are usually noticed in the works of the learned author, even though his attention has been drawn to it more than once. Reference may be made in particular to his habit of using the word "unwarranted" about the views of others which differ from his, confident assertions of his own views as authentic though there is not sufficient evidence in support of them, and unwillingness to admit his own errors even when they are definitely proved to be so by the discovery of fresh evidence. Confirmation and illustration of all these defects will be found in his elaborate discussion of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla in Chapter VII (pp. 131-148). The author originally held the view that the name "Vaṅgāla is often found in records and works of the period later than the tenth century A.D." (p. 132) and even went so far as to say that "the name Vaṅgāla can hardly be expected in any record earlier than the rise of the Candras in the tenth century A.D. (*IHQ*, XXIII, 63), because he held the view that the name orlginated about that time. He further argued that as "the Candra kingdom is called Candra-dvīpa according to one evidence and Vaṅgāla-deśa according to another, the two are more or less

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identical" (p. 133). All these theories are demolished by the discovery of the Nasari Plates to which he refers in a footnote in the first edition (p. 124). Presumably he was unaware of it when the main text was ready, if not already in print. But although in the second edition he transfers the footnote to the text itself, he has left the rest of the discussion and his old conclusion unchanged. It may be further pointed out that if we accept his argument about the identity of Candradvīpa and Vaṅgāla we have also to identify Gauḍa and Vaṅga, for he has himself pointed out in the preceding page (p. 132), that Dharmapāla is called Lord of Vaṅga in one epigraphic record and Lord of Gauḍa in another. There are other instances of the learned author's reluctance to change his views in the light of new discoveries. Again, in the same chapter he has gone out of his way in making a fling at the editor of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* series for appropriating a suggestion of Hodivala without proper acknowledgment (p. 143, fn. 5). The fact is that in the chapter on the Khaljī Dynasty, the contributor of the chapter referred to the son of the Yādava king Rāmachandra as Śaṅkara, following the usual practice. The editor changed it to Singhana and added an appendix to discuss the whole question in which reference is made to Hodivala's statement in the very page of the book mentioned by Dr. Sircar. It is not easy to understand why the blame, if any, is attached not to the writer of the chapter but to the editor, to whom a further reference is made in the same chapter as being guilty of maintaining two "unwarranted" theories (p. 131). It may be mentioned that though reference is made to irrelevant topics like failure to recognise properly the credit due to Hodivala in a matter which has nothing to do with Candra dvīpa, the author does not refer to many interesting facts and theories about its history, nomenclature and location such as are discussed, for example, *History of Ancient Bengal* (p. 10) by the Reviewer which should have found a place in a book primarily dealing with the geography of ancient Bengal.

While the author does not hesitate to call any theory, with which he does not agree, as "unwarraned" if it is not based on conclusive evidence, and merely advanced as a hypothesis, he uses the words "almost certain" and "most ingenious and constructive" with reference to Hodivala's views on the proposed identifi-

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cation of Mas'ūdi's Rahma based mainly on conjectural emendation of texts (p. 143).

Enough has been said to indicate the nature of blemishes in a work, which, as said above, in spite of them, must be regarded as the most informative and scholarly work on the geography of ancient and medieval India that has been written so far.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

TIPU SULTAN'S MYSORE—AN ECONOMIC STUDY, by M. H. Gopal. (Published by Popular Prakasan, Bombay), 1971, Pp. 112. Price Rs. 20.

This neat little volume consists of five research papers which are made to form parts of a connected theme, dealing with certain facets of the economic life of the Mysore Kingdom under Tipu Sultan in the last quarter of the 18th century. They bring to focus the way Tipu conducted the finances of the country and the manner in which he sought to protect the economic interests of his state. Though the author does not try to give a plenary picture of the economic life of the period, covering all the major and minor titles under this head, this book is a sufficient guarantee for strong historical objectivity and critical scholarship of the first order

In the first chapter Prof. Gopal ably makes out a case that by a shrewd device of undervaluing some districts and over-rating others, Tipu cozened the East India Company and secured 18 lakhs of rupees more than his proper share and 36 lakhs more than his enemies got when he submitted the accounts of 1792 after his defeat in the third Anglo-Mysore War. The man emerging out of this deal, to be sure, is not an honest king but a rich businessman with a large income concealed, submitting false accounts to the authorities. The author has dexterously drawn a picture, only in bare outline without colouration, without details but highly suggestive of the spectacular background and deeper ebullient inside.

The same trend in scrutiny and narration is followed in other chapters also. The author spreads the facts, emphasising only those that lead to the main thesis, and the reader is given the chance to

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form his own judgement. In the second chapter the commercial policy of Tipu is subjected to thorough investigation and the author brings out an array of refreshingly new facts. An enlightened commercial policy adopted by Tipu ought to have increased the prosperity of the land, but in its operation, it failed to produce the desired result. This masterful analysis opens the door for further investigation in the field. The third chapter deals with the military expenditure and how it proved over-burdening of the state. The fourth and fifth deal with the financial administration and over-all financial position of the kingdom respectively.

All the studies that form parts of the book are well documented and they together place in perspective the economic life of the Mysorean Kingdom under Tipu Sultan. The argumentation is forceful and convincing, the organization of themes well thought out and the exposition pellucid. Instead of adding one more biography of Tipu Sultan, the author has wisely channelled his scholarship to the study of a particular aspect of Tipu's administration which biographers leave mostly untouched.

The book is a significant contribution to the historical literature on Tipu Sultan and students of economic history of South India will certainly find in this much useful information. It is not a mere audit report of twenty years of a King's state-business, showing the credit and debit entries and profit and loss calculations, but a threadbare analysis of an aspect of the material life, with a sprinkling of interesting side-lights of the social, political and religious background of the period.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

THE BRITISH IMAGE OF INDIA, by Allen J. Greenberger, Oxford University Press, 1969, Pp. VIII + 234.

The object of this book may be stated in the words of the author. In the first place he holds: "A more complete understanding of British policy towards India can be gained through a recognition of the ideas and images which the British rulers held

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about their Indian subjects and Indian possessions" (p. 1). Secondly, he observes that one important source of these ideas, which has largely been overlooked, is the fiction literature—"novels and stories set in the sub-continent", published in large number since the days of Kipling—which has "impressed a whole generation of English-reading schoolboys by the special image of British India reflected in it", and, as "imperial policy in late Victorian times was usually made by an inner circle which came exclusively from the public schools", this image "fell on fertile soil" (Pp. 1–2).

There is no doubt a great deal of truth in what the author says, and his attempt to explore this new source for a proper understanding of the relationship between the British and the Indians has yielded good results. But it may be pointed out that most of the general conclusions drawn by him more or less agree with the views generally held in India about the British attitude towards the Indians, and thus confirm, rather than add to, our knowledge on the subject. This may be illustrated by some concrete observations made by the author on the basis of the British fiction literature.

1. "In order to rule, the novelists believed it was necessary for an individual to be British and to possess certain characteristics which were felt to be natural to that 'race'. The ideal British hero of this 'era of confidence' is "brave, forceful, daring, honest, active; and masculine" (p. 11). "Possession of the characteristics they felt were so valuable gave the British both the right and the obligation to rule. Leadership was looked upon as being the true test of an individual's or, more importantly, a race's worth. The crucial thing is that the British saw the ability to lead in terms of race. It was the British blood which gave them their unique position. Kipling's Kim must order his Bengali friend to follow him and Huree Chunder Mookerjee must accept the order because Kim is British and hence the natural leader" (p. 13). "Even a drop of English blood is, in the absence of a full-blooded Briton, sufficient to bring out the leadership qualities in an individual. Ma Sein, the half-caste daughter of an Englishman, is the leader of all the children's games and the arbiter of what is right and wrong for her Burmese playmates" (p. 14).

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Such arrogance on the part of the British is very well-known in India and has been pithily and sarcastically described as the "White Man's Burden".

2. "Since the British must rule they have an obligation to use every possible means to make their rule secure. The English hero of Henty's tale of the Maratha War thinks that it is unethical to have anyone spy on the British, but there is absolutely nothing wrong with having someone spy on the Indians because the British cause is the just one. The American, but completely Anglo-Saxon, Tarvin in *The Naulahka* uses the passions of the Indian princess to trap her. There is nothing ungentlemanly about pretending to be in love with her in order to gain information and then to throw her over despite the fact that she loves him. It is merely a proper method of taking advantage of the weakness that the Indian character contains" (p. 15).

Such disregard of moral principles is perhaps not recognized as a wellknown feature, but illustrations may be found in Clive's forging the signature of Watson for the sake of ruining Siraj-ud-daullah and Umichand, the disavowal of the convention of Wargaon during the first Maratha War", etc.

3. "The giving up of any part of the British way of life was believed to be the worst thing that one could do" (p. 16).

This was not true of the early British community, but was a very familiar feature in the 19th century. An extreme example is proved in a novel by the case of a "women who is posing as an Indian and living in complete seclusion. It turns out that she is actually a 'Mutiny Lady'—a woman who had accepted the Indian faith and way of life at Cawnpore in order to avoid being massacred. She is totally ashamed of this fact and is unwilling therefore to try to take her place in English society again" (p. 16). The moral drawn is; "the right kind of a woman would rather accept death than give up her position as an English woman" (p. 16).

4. "The foremost character trait of the Indian people is that they are like little children. This is a statement which holds true for all of the British writers in this period who apply it to virtually all the Indians with whom they deal. Because they are children, they must be handled in certain ways. In an age when 'sparing

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the rod' was the equivalent of 'spoiling the child' it is obvious that relations with a people considered to be children would involve a large degree of force" (p. 42). "Closely related to the childlike image of the Indians held by most of these British writers is the idea that, in a way not unlike children, they were happy in their life no matter if it might appear harsh to a Westerner" (p. 44).

Instances of this were too well-known to Indians from their daily experience, and formed a major item of their discontent.

5. "Of all the various Indian groups it was the Muslims who were most favoured. 'I am an Occidental, not an Oriental' ..... I think I like Indian Mohammedans, but I cannot go much further in an easterly direction" (p. 45).

Twentieth century politics in India provides numerous illustrations of this pro-Muslim sympathy of the British administrators, though they have always stoutly denied it. In this case the British literature fully endorses the views of the Hindus in India.

6. "Hindus, in general, and Bengalis, in particular, are portrayed in a very harsh light. They may be 'mild', but to a Late Victorian this was not a virtue because it carried with it the implication that they lacked the characteristics of force and action which were most highly esteemed" (p. 48).

This is too well-known to need any comment. But the following is more interesting.

"Why is there so much hatred of the Hindus? (Intellectually, the European mind was outraged by the Hindus precisely in those three principles which were fundamental to its approach to life, and which it has been applying with ever greater strictness since the Renaissance: that of reason, that of order, and that of measure" (p. 49).

7. "Hinduism was also seen to be a cruel religion" (p. 52). "This acceptance and even enjoyment of cruelty is not limited to the Hindus, but is shown to be something that is true of all Indians although it is more marked in the Hindus" (p. 52). It is a candid admission that religious bigotry was not confined to the Christian missionaries.

8. "The Eurasian community plays only a minor role in the over-all image of the Indian people in this early period ... This

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constantly harsh image of the Eurasian is a reflection of several forces in British thought. There is an element of sexual guilt which was bound to find expression in a disavowal of this group. The British were responsible for the creation of the Eurasian community and every attempt by the Eurasians to appear to be more like the English only accentuated this fact. Also, in an age such as this one when the British were basing their superiority purely on racial lines, the Eurasians were a threat to their unique position" (Pp. 53–4). "Another minor group, the Christian Indians, are treated in a similar way to the Eurasians. Despite their conversion, or rather because of it, they are shown to possess nothing but bad traits.

The book abounds in such remarks, most of which are familiar truths.

The author traces three different phases in the British attitude towards India. The observations quoted above are valid for the first period, 'The Era of Confidence' (1880–1910). This is followed by 'The Era of Doubt' (1910–1935)—doubt as to the worth of the whole system of administration—which takes definite shape from after the First Great World War. In the first place, whereas the earlier writers regarded the absolute rule of the British in India as good because it 'gives Englishmen an opportunity for self-development', the writers of this period believed that "such a position destroyed the British. The very act of authority tended to corrupt the holders of the authority" (p. 84). In this matter fiction literature more truly reflected the actual state of things than was apparent even to the best among the British political leaders.

Secondly, "for the first time serious attacks on the value of the whole of Western civilization are expressed in fiction dealing with India" (p. 84). One writer, Orwell, makes his hero say that "the civilization the English have brought to Burma cannot possibly improve that country because Western civilization in itself is degenerate" (p. 85).

"Of course I don't deny', the hero said, 'that we modernize this country in certain ways. We can't help doing so. In fact before we've finished we'll have wrecked the whole Burmese

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national culture. But we're not civilizing them, we're only rubbing our dirt on to them". This is as true of Burma as of India.

Thirdly, there is a bitter attack on English woman in India. Thompson sums up this whole attack by saying that the biggest mistake of the English in India is the way their women act. The laying of the blame for the British failures in India on the English woman there is a much more serious attack on them than anything that had been made by the Kiplings and Crokers of the preceding period. Their attack was a species of social criticism based almost entirely on woman's place in society. For writers like Forster, Thompson, Candler, and Kincaid, the criticism goes far deeper. The English woman in India made it impossible for the English and India to meet each other as friends" (p. 105).

This view has been expressed by many writers, both Indian and British, from actual experience.

Fourthly, the British fiction writers, for the first time, becomes cognisant of the national movement. But, instead of looking upon it as genuine popular movement, the writers paint the nationalists in the blackest hue. "They are not thought to be motivated by devotion to the betterment of India, but are either concerned with themselves, have been personally humiliated by the British, or are the dupes of others. A constant theme is that the nationalist troubles really are not being caused by the Indian people, but by a few leaders who are interested only in their personal advancement" (p. 142). Here, also, literature faithfully echoes the cry of the British politicians and British Indian Officials.

Fifthly, "the change in British image of India is reflected to a large degree in the fact that the problem of whether it was possible for the British and Indians to understand each other became a major theme"... One writer "believes that the basic problem is the lack of contact and communication between the English and Indians—'If only they met us and knew us, he argued, it would be all right'... Another writer says: "It's a matter of common sense... that if we want to stay on, in this changing India, we must be friends with Indians. One of her Indian characters goes even further:

'Your so-called reforms do not interest the masses or touch their imagination. But the boot of the low-class European tou-

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ches their backs and their pride and hardens their hearts. That is only human nature. In the east a few gold grains of courtesy touch the heart more than a handsome *Khillat* of political hotch-potch" (pp. 150-151).

Unfortunately, this good sense came too late, and even then it hardly touched the British Officialdom in India.

The third and concluding phase, 'The Era of Melancholy', begins after 1935 and continued till the last. "No longer did writers concerned with India feel that they had to take a partisan stand either in favour of or in opposition to the existence of the British Empire in India. They tended to believe that the Empire was already dead... In the Era of Doubt there were virtually no historical novels. The authors of that period were far too concerned with the problems of the present to write about the past. In the post-1935 period historical novels reappear, as literary men look backwards rather than forwards" (p. 179).

"Hinduism and Hindus play a larger role and are better treated than in either of the preceding periods. Two popular novelists, Somerset Maugham in *The Razor's Edge* and Nevil Shute in *The Chequer Board,* have continued the old image of India as the home of spiritualism from which the West has a great deal to learn". A fiction writer "distinguishes between the Mogul and Hindu parts of Shah Jehan's character. The former is supposed to desire power and the latter to love people. The Englishman prefers the Hindu part and says that he loves the Hindus with all of his heart" (p. 187). The author's comment is worth quoting: "This growing theme may in part to be a reflection of the British turning away from the Muslims who were seen as being responsible for destroying the fabric of unity which the British felt had been their most important gift to India. Another explanation for the changing attitude may well be that, with independence as an accepted fact, it was no longer necessary to attack the Hindus who had been the greatest threat to British power" (p. 188). But in spite of this rehabilitation of the Hindus in the good books of the British, "the villain of the piece is still that old character, the Bengali *babu*" (p. 188).

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Enough has been said to indicate from literary sources the image of India in the minds of the British in three successive periods. As already stated above, the picture that emerges is not a new one but is more or less akin to what the Indians had always depicted in their more serious historical writings on the British. Nevertheless, the book is of great value, inasmuch as it is a lurid, but realistic, picture of the British image of India as painted by British themselves. Further, the book proves to the hilt the truth of the dictum that literature is a true reflection of the society. The book may be regarded as an epitaph on the tomb of the British Empire in India.

The printing and get-up are excellent.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

HARSHA, A POLITICAL STUDY, by D. Devahuti; published by Oxford University Press, London; pp. xx + 295; 11 plates and a map; price Rs. 75; 1970.

There is no paucity of researches on the life and times of Harṣavardhana. Since the publication of the *Harṣavardhana, empereur et poète* by M. L. Ettinghausen, in 1906, many scholars have studied the career or some specific aspects of Harṣavardhana's administration. With the full knowledge of these works, and to which she frequently refers, Dr. Devahuti claims justification for a fresh study on that emperor. After going through her dissertation one may feel that she has failed to bring in any new evidence, which has altered the familiar image of Harṣa. Yet the most unkind critic will have to admit that she has rendered signal services to Indology by translating from the *Hsi Yü Chi*, *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao* and other Chinese texts in English. Those who are ignorant of the Chinese language shall immensely profit by the English version of those Chinese texts, which relate to the Indo-Chinese missions in the reign of Harṣa and the adventures of Wang Hsüan-t'sê.

It is gratifying that she has utilised her extensive readings in texts, both original and secondary, in writing the chapters on the kingdoms of Northern India in the latter half of the sixth century

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A.D., early history of the Vardhanas, extent of empire and administration of Harṣavardhana (Chapters ii—iv and vi). Acquaintance with secondary sources and research articles have not shaken her faith in the veracity of facts noted by Harṣa's court-poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa and a foreign friendly chronicler Hiuen Tsang. She is aware of the limitations of Hiuen Tsang. She writes "Hsüan-tsang tended to present, on the basis of scanty evidence, an exaggerated picture of conditions as he would have liked them to be" (p. 4). Yet it is on the evidence of Hiuen Tsang alone that she makes Bhāskaravarman, a subordinate ally of Harṣa. Similar fidelity to Bāṇabhaṭṭa has led her to suggest that Harṣa was nominated the heir-apparent to the throne by the dying king Prabhākaravardhana in supersession of the claims of Rājyavardhana (pp. 69, 71).

Many portions of chapters v and vi of the book under review show that in search of a "wider approach" the author has travelled far off from the main theme. She is taxing heavily the patience of readers while narrating the concepts of *Ṛta, Dharma* in the age of the *Vedas, Mahābhārata* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. References to *sāmanta* in the *Aparājita-pṛichchhā* and *Śukranītisāra* (pp. 164, 167–168), which were compiled in between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D., have little relevance to Harṣa's administration.

It is difficult to agree to some of her statements. It is not a fact that the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* is a work anterior to the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (p. 121). F. W. Thomas, editor of that text, himself suggested that the reference to the Yādava country therein may indicate its compilation in the twelfth century A.D. Jayadeva, the author of the *Prasannarāghava* did not flourish in the eleventh century, as has been indicated in page 154 but a century later. It is stated in the *History of Sanskrit Literature*, edited by S. N. Dasgupta, Vol. i, p. 462, that, the above-mentioned Jayadeva "can be assigned roughly to the 13th century". Moreover, *bhāgakara* and *udraṅga* have wrongly been assumed as identical taxes. She has stated that both of these taxes mean a levy of one-sixth of land produce (p. 203). Further, one shall find it difficult to reconcile two of her other statements. It is apparent from her copious references to the *maṇḍala* system that Harṣa was a *vijigīṣu*. Yet elsewhere she writes that Harṣa's

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"empire was of a confederate type" (p. 232). The two systems—*maṇḍala* and confederation—run in opposite directions. It is really surprising that even in a volume published by the Oxford University Press, London, a few errors in printing are found, e.g. *kṣātra* (p. 83) for kṣātra Hsüan-tsang's departure from Kashmir in 623 (p. 96) for 632 or 633 A.D., Kshmendra (p. 195, f.n. 6) for Kshemendra

In spite of these minor flaws, this book, highly priced, is a valuable addition to the literature on Harṣavardhana. It is a suitable testimony to the sincerity and critical faculty of the author, We shall eagerly look forward to some other work of her on a less discussed topic with the same devotion to meticulous details and critical evaluation.

B. P. MAZUMDAR.

MOVEMENT IN STONE, by Mathuram Boothalingam, Somani Publications (P) Ltd., New Delhi, pp. 90, Price Rs. 18/-.

This is a short introduction to some of the important and already well-known Chola temples. Starting with a sketchy introduction on the iconography of some of the deities seen in most of the temples, this booklet proceeds to provide the historical background of Indian art and a short account on the design of the temple and the style of the Cholas. This is followed by descriptions of temples like the Vijayalayacholisvara at Nārttāmalai, Balasubrahmanya at Kannanur, Sundareswara at Tirukkattalai, Kornganatha at Srinivasanallur, Nagesvara at Kumbakonam, Brahmapurisvara at Pullamangai, Agastisvara and Cholisvara at Kilaiyur, Muvar Koil at Kodumbalur and Valisvara at Tiruvalisvaram. All these places are indicated in a map of South India while suitable illustrations enrich the book. Still the book will cater to the needs of an interested tourist only and cannot be categorised as a scholarly monograph. In the first place all these monuments have already been brought to light by earlier writers; secondly certain obvious inconsistencies are also noticed—for instance at one place (p. 16) the author assigns the Nagesvara temple to the period of Parāntaka I and at another place (p. 38) to the period of Āditya I. Again in the account on the Cholā

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style it is stated that 'the basement is moulded in the form of the inverted lotus and together with walls cut into projections like the petals of flower'. This can not be accepted as a standard feature of all the monuments. The inclusion of the Valisvara shrine at Tiruvalisvaram among the Chola temples can not also be justified since recent researches have shown that it is a Pandya structure.

The book carries a useful glossary. The illustrations are fine and the book can usefully serve as a guide to tourists.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

KRṢNA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND, by Bimanbehari Majumdar, University of Calcutta, 1969, Pp. 307, Price Rs. 20/–.

The field of historical research has seen in recent times a considerable emphasis on the progress of ideas and the development of institutions. Numerous ingredients that collectively constitute a culture are being subjected to detailed study, and since religion was a predominating force and even constituted the basis of social life in ancient India, religious concepts have necessarily received considerable attention. Several scholars have written valuable treatises and articles on some deities but most of them remain mere descriptions of iconography without examining the more important historical aspects of the concepts and their development in time and space. It is in this context that the present work by Dr. B. B. Majumdar is most welcome.

Kṛṣna is a deity of hoary antiquity and perhaps none in the Hindu pantheon excels him in the prodigality of sculptural and graphic representations in Indian art. An enormous literature, devotional in nature, has luxuriantly grown around him, and what is more, details regarding his achievements vary from region to region. Kṛsna, unlike some of the earlier *avatars* of Viṣnu, was most probably a historical figure and hence arouses chronological interest also. These and other aspects of his cult have been dealt with by the author in a detailed manner.

The author starts with the problem of the chronology of Kṛṣna, discusses different views regarding the same and concludes on the

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basis of a passage in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* that Kṛṣṇa was already accepted as a supreme deity in the fourth century B.C. This is followed by a narrative account of the early life of Kṛṣṇa in the light of literary and sculptural evidences. Then follows the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* accounts of Kṛṣṇa; while the *Bhāgavata* largely centers round Kṛṣṇa's and devotes 40 out of 90 chapters and 1604 out of 3946 verses to Kṛṣṇa's life at Vṛndāvana and Gōkula and does not give much importance to the Kurukṣetra war. the *Mahābhāraa* concerns itself essentially with the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus and the glimpses of boy Kṛṣṇa provided in it are but incidental. But certain details about Kṛṣṇa that are not found in the *Bhāgavata* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*—Kṛṣna saying in the Rāiasūya assembly that when he was away in Prāgjyotiṣapuram, Dwaraka was set fire to by Śisupāla, being an example. The author has made a co-ordinated study of both the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* and points out the difference in the outlook of the two books. After discussing in detail the life of Kṛṣna at Dwaraka, he concludes that his kinsmen regarded him more as a leader of exceptional talents than as an incarnation of god. In discussing the allied question of Radha and her love for Krsna the author mentions that the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* mentions Rādha as Nappinnai; Nappinnai is basically a Tamil concept like Vaḷḷi, the southern consort of Muruga (Kārttikeya). He states that *Śilappadikāram* has been assigned to the second century A.D. by one scholar and to 465 A.D. by some others and seems to believe that at any rate the work was composed during or prior to the fifth century. But recent researches have also pointed out the possibility of its being much later.

The author attempts to interpret the life of Kṛṣṇa in the light of Bankimchandra's work and shows how the latter disproved the contention of the western scholars that Kṛṣṇa is an allegorical or mythical figure. By providing the elaborate record of the genealogy of the ancestors of Kṛṣṇa the author argues that he was not a non-Aryan god as supposed by some.

The book is a critical and scholarly study of a complex subject in all its aspects. Though archaeological sources are sporadically used they have not been pressed into much service and the iconographic aspect has not been dealt with. The extensive bibliography provided at the end will be useful to researchers. Similar

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studies on other major deities with greater use of archaeological sources will go a long way for a full comprehension of ancient Indian culture.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF "MUTINY PAPERS" IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA, BHOPAL. Volume III Published by National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1971. Price (Inland) Rs. 10.50 (foreign) 24s. 6d. or $3.78 cents.

The book under review is an important research aid for those who work on the problem of the Sepoy Mutiny. Sri. K. L. Arora deserves to be congratulated for preparing this descriptive list of the Mutiny papers in a systematic and diligently thorough manner. His "Introduction" is much too short. Had it been written with sufficient details and giving relevent references, the research value of the book would have definitely increased.

The volume is based mainly on the Persian correspondence of Nawab Sikandar Begam, ruler of Bhopal and her various officials and gives short descriptions in tabular form, of the activities of the Sepoys of Bhopal contingent, Jagirdars of that state and some members of the ruling family. The book also provides a picture of the prevailing social, economic and political conditions of the state and the fluctuating fortunes of the British in Central Indian region.

The worth of the book is no criterion for fixing a high price. Being a government publication, the 132 pages of the volume should have been made available at a lower cost.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN BANGLA DESH (A DOCUMENTARY STUDY), Edited by I. N. Tewary. Navachetna Prakashan, Varanasi, pp. 180. Price Rs. 22/–.

Some books become antiquated while they are in press. The work under review is ill-fated that it requires revision, thorough

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and complete, to the last detail on the date of its publication. The author himself must have felt that the deficiency of the book in the subject matter is rather deathly. When it comes to such a pass that a reader is in the know of more and admittedly larger corpus of facts on a given subject than what is given in a particular book, that book becomes redolent of sheer disuse. Reading public in India and elsewhere, not to speak of specialists in the field, will hardly find anything new or worth-noting about Bangla Desh in this neatly produced lean volume.

If this book had no pretensions to scholarship and research about it, we could have dismissed it as a product of journalistic euphoria. But it has wider claims to objective research and analysis, as it offers a documentary survey of the historic 'great divide'. In the foreword it is said "This, then, is a book for the reference shelf and for the future researchers". Such a tall claim can hardly be admitted.

The introductory study of the problem of Bangla Desh is far from scholarly and is not free from platitudinous remarks. Many of the documents are cognizably fragmentary and mole-eyed versions of important source material. Some of them are shorn of merits as original documents as they are culled out from the reports in the daily press. If the purpose of the book is to initiate the student to the subject and to make him evaluate the historical events through the study of documents, the selection of the material should have been done systematically and with greater care. If it is to help the researcher, it should have been done in detail with more thoroughness and judgement.

In a documentary study, the subject should unfold itself out of the documentation unaided. A fortuitous collocation of sequences does not constitute a fair historical survey. The book under review fails to make the documents relate the story of Bangla Desh.

It may also be pointed out that more important and relevent documents related to the aspects of the genesis and growth of the concept and fact of Bangla Desh have not been given a place in the book. The roles of secular politics, economic realities, student movement, ethnic and language differences in creating Bangla Desh, need special referencing in a study like this. After reading this book one will be tempted to say that the historical discipline

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would hardly have felt the absence of this book, if the editor had chosen to desist the urge of producing it in this manner.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

CHALCOLITHIC NAVDATOLI (EXCAVATIONS AT NAVDATOLI, 1957–59), by H. D. Sankalia. S. B. Deo and Z. D. Ansari. Published by Deccan College Research Institute and M. S. University, Poona. 1971—Baroda. Pp. xxvi + 460. Price Rs. 105/-

The prehistory of India is still, to a large extent lying beneath the earth and archaeologists have been making earnest efforts to exhume as much of the relics in recent years as would enable one to get a fair glimpse of that distant past. The book under review is a report of the excavations carried out at Navdatoli during 1957–59 by the eminent archaeologist H. D. Sankalia and his team. This admirable publication is a real gem that will take its place with any such report produced anywhere in the world. It presents a fuller view of the chalcolithic culture brought to light by the earlier excavations and tries to detect the links that it had with Western Asia especially Iran. The extensive excavations at Navdatoli take us back to a material culture—a truly Copper or Bronze Age Culture—developed around a nucleated agricultural settlement that grew in the Narmada valley in about 1600 B.C.

The authors have accomplished an extremely difficult task with consummate skill, displaying supreme power of analysis. But it seems that they started the excavation with a fore-knowledge about the authors of the Culture that the Narmada Valley was, at that early period, colonised by the Aryan or Puranic tribes. They believe that the beautiful, wide-ranging pottery with distinctive exotic types, indicates West Asian contact and that the inhabitants of Navdatoli "probably worshipped a crude Mother Goddess who had its origins in West Asia". No skeletal remains could be gathered from the digging-sites. Dr. Sankalia emphasises, "Though as yet we are not able to identify or say categorically who the authors of the Navdatoli Culture were, there is little doubt in the mind of the writer, that external influence–either direct or indirect—was responsible for its birth in Malwa, including the

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Narbada, where it had gradually spread". We are curious over the existence of many of these relics with sharp and distinctive features, but their origin in, or direct or indirect relation to, West Asian Culture, is difficult to understand. These claims have to be substantiated by definite evidences. Things that are disinterred tell us very little of their knowledge of West Asia or any other alien country. When forms of worship, styles and pottery are adopted from West Asia how is it that the Navdatolians forgot to bring the living symbols of their speeches—the forms of writing-prevelant in that area?

The brusque generalizations and hypotheses apart, the data laid bare by the diggings are decidely and signally valuable both for the archaeologist and the historian. The book is more than an ordinary account of the field work done; it takes into critical account most of the existing literature on the subject. Admirably planned and exquisitely produced, this volume will pass for a classic in the field of archaeological studies; it will remain the pick of the crop for years to come.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

STUDIES IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ANCIENT INDIA, by D. C. Sircar. Motilal Benarsidas, Delhi, Pp. viii + 292; Price Rs. 35/-.

There is no dearth of books on the religious life of ancient and medieval India. But most of them read alike and differ only in details. Prof. Sircar's is a different book, for he draws freely from epigraphic and numismatic, as well as from literary sources whereas most of the previous studies depend in the main, on literary founts. The book under review is a remarkably written and handsomely produced work of undiluted critical scholarship. It contains seventeen chapters besides three appendices, all of them being dexterously distilled from forty of his own research papers and notes published previously in reputed historical journals. No trifling achievement it is to judiciously rearrange, giving an altogether new form and severe continuity, one's own unconnected and stray tracts. The book apparently evidences a scholarly excursion into the inner recesses of religious experiences of ancient and medieval Indians. Prof. Sircar marshalls an array of convincing

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evidences from epigraphic and numismatic sources, but his reasonings are not always sound or profound; especially when literary works are produced as sole witnesses, his conclusions are frothy. The first chapter, even though it makes a bold attempt to make out a strong case for "sectarianism of some sort" in the "religious life of India even before the advent of the Aryans some of whom had gradually adoped it before the latest hymns of Ṛgveda were composed", betrays all the weaknesses of literary interpretation of historical facts and happenings. The author is exceptionally strong when he is armed with inscriptional evidences and apparently weak when he is not so equipped.

In his anxiety to make his narratives look scholarly, the author is often tempted to make common-place appear deep and unique. Rudra of the vedic age. identified as Siva of later period is characterised as a sectarian God having a class of votaries regarding him as the greatest God who was the creator of other Gods like Brahma. While the Ṛgveda contains overwhelming evidence to prove the contrary, Prof. Sircar brings in the evidence of the Mohenjodaro seal representing a God in the Yoga posture with a kneeling human figure, with hands uplifted in prayer on either side of him. Until we are in a position to decipher the epigraph on the seal, it can neither prove nor disprove anything. Prof. Sircar must be aware of this, more intensely than anybody else.

The second chapter on Krishna Vasudeva, even though predominantly having supportive evidence from literature, has a sprinkling of corroborative inscriptional evidence also. To that extent it adds to our existing knowledge on the subject. Subsequent chapters like Vaiṣṇavism in the Gupta and Post Gupta Ages, Puruṣōttama Jagannatha, Śakti or the Mother Goddess, Nagas and Yaksas, Decline of Buddhism in Bengal and Religious Suicide are profound and with rare insight wherein Prof. Sircar soars high in critical objectivity and provides irrefutable and sound arguments. This book will perhaps remain longer in the field, not solely because of its strength, (which it has in ample measure) but because of the weakness of other contenders. All serious students of the subject will find it most valuable as a source of information.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

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SELECTION FROM THE JUDICIAL RECORDS OF THE BHAGALPUR DISTRICT OFFICE (1792–1805), Edited by K. K. Datta. M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. Published under the authority of: State Central Records Office, Political Department. Bihar, Patna, 1969, pp. xi + 37 + 406, Price Rs.11.50.

Historical research in India is mighty expensive. For poor research scholars, undertaking long journey to the distant archives and staying at places where these are located, pose insuperable problems. The working conditions in many of the archives are highly prejudicial against the interest of the students who want to expedite collection of data. Naturally historical research becomes the preserve of the economically well–off section of scholastic community. This situation demands a change and poor researchers also should enter the field. One remedy, as far as it goes, is publication of the old records lying in the different state and national archives so as to make them available at the scholars' desk, wherever they chose to live. The book under review is a commendable document collection which will be of immense use to the research scholar who works on the political and institutional history of India. Even though the records published deal with the judicial administration of the Bhagalpur district, they have an intimate bearing on the provincial and national history also. No country can have a national history if the annals of the units and patterns provided by the localities are ignored. Hence the importance of district records.

The present volume contains 521 correspondences of six Judge–Magistrates of Bhagalpur who were put in charge of the judicial administrative machinery devised by Cornwallis. A system however meritorious, will prove unworkable or dangerously ill–fitted, if the officers are self–seeking or inefficient. But Cornwallis System crumbled more because of its inherent weakness than of the inefficiency and the malfeasance of the officers.

The selections provide the reader with interesting information regarding the working of the Cornwallis System including both judicial and police establishments, the efforts of the officers to salvage it from complete disintegration, the crime level and condition of goals, and constabulary and many other aspects of the law and order situation of the country. It may be noted that the book is more than a selection of judicial letters of Judge–Magistrates of

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Bhagalpur; in a larger sense, the institutional history of the formative period of British India comes vividly alive and we see it unfolding through the despatches of some officials.

On the whole the book is a worthy addition to the scanty research aids available in India. The value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of a well documented introduction. A fairly longish list of documents is given as table of contents but the successive letters in the body of the book are not numbered. The work would have been more systematic and complete and its usefulness enhanced if a short conspectus was given before each letter and a bibliography, glossary, and index also were added to it. However the Selection will be found indispensable by all researchers in the field. The nominal price is a favourable point that increases its value as research aid.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM IN INDIA: M. N. ROY AND COMINTERN POLICY, 1920–1939, by John Patrick Haithcox, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, Pp. xiv + 389. Price Rs. 85.

This book traces the development and evaluates the impact of a significant aspect of India's nationalist movement, the rise of communism and socialism and the attitude of the British Government of India towards the nationalist struggle. The study revolves round the life and work of M. N. Roy, the "founder of the Communist Party of India". The author claims, and justifiably so, that Roy's activities in the 1920's and his connection with the Indian National Congress and the Labour movement have been studied with a new perspective. The author's wealth of fresh facts makes this work one of the most outstanding contributions to the literature on India's naionalist movement. Even though documentary evidences are plenty for this period, no previous author has chosen to consult most of them. Haithcox starts his story with Roy's participation in the Second Commintern Congress met at Moscow in 1920 after his forming the Communist Party of Mexico, which was described as "six members and a Calico cat." Roy's encounter

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with Lenin there really marked a place for him in the history of communism. Lenin's draft thesis on the national and colonial question and Roy's alternative draft were discussed and the congress "took the unusual step of adopting both." Roy opposed Lenin's idea of extending support to all "bourgeois-demoncratic liberation movements" because he believed that the nationalist leaders are bound to desert to the imperialist camp in a revolutionary situation. He suspected the "reliability" of the leadership of the Indian National Congress and advocated "the institution and development of the communist movement" and "the organization of the broad popular massess for the class interests of the latter". Lenin on the otherhand did not share Roy's confidence in the strength and class consciousness of Indian proletariat. There was no communist party in India then. The details of the debate between Lenin and Roy are lucidly given in the chapter "The Second Comintern Congress". To the credit of Roy it must be said that his disagreement with Lenin over the degree of support to be given to nationalist leaders as opposed to indigenous communist parties has continued to plague the international communist movement to the present day.

The intellectual power and organisational ability of the Indian leader have been succinctly brought out in the succeeding chapters. His role in organising the communist movement in India and his efforts to penetrate the nationalist movement through Khilafat movement, Bengali revolutionary societies and trade unions are assessed in the book with the freshness of a discovery. Roy's advocacy of a legal, revolutionary, mass party which was to be a part of the Indian National Congress, and a separate party was to escape the Government persecution.

The eventful life of the revolutionary leader, unfolds itself in its variegated contours and colours through the pages of the book. It is a work that deserves to be commended as an excellent example of concentrated objectivity and massive scholarship. Most of our studies on the Indian nationalist movement are sadly wanting in the essential characteristic of critical objectivity and sound reasoning. This outstanding publication can well be taken as a model for future studies on the subject.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

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Terracotta Figurines from Shahabad

BY

K. N. Dikshit

The Discovery

Situated about 30 kms. south-east from Shahjahanpur, the town of Shahabad, Hardoi District, Uttar Pradesh, has a series of connected mounds on its south-eastern side. The archaeological wealth of the site was noticed first by Dr. Jagdish Gupta[1] of Allahabad University who picked up ochre-coloured ware, copper-hoard implements, terracotta figurines and coins from this place. Later on Dr. V. N. Misra[2] of Deccan College, Poona, further explored the area in a systematic way. In exploration these mounds yielded Painted Grey and Northern Black Polished Wares, Gupta terracotta figurines and a mediaeval copper coin.

These two terracotta figurines from Shahabad were purchased by the Art Purchase Committee of the National Museum, New Delhi from Dr. Jagdish Gupta in 1971. They are now with the Department of the Prehistoric Archaeology of the museum.

Description

1. *Terracotta Male Head and Bust* (*Acc. No.* 71.230)

The terracotta figurine (Plate I) which is partly worn out, is 2.5 cms. in height. The traces of black slip can be also seen. It is of dark-brown colour and is inadequately fired. The face which is quite crude in execution slightly tilts towards left. It has no forehead and is flat at the top. The front half portion of the skull seems to be shaven, whereas on both the ends of occipital part two locks are falling on the shoulder. This is a peculiar feature. The

1. Dr. Jagdish Gupta, Department of Hindi, Allahabad University, Private Communication.
2. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1965-66 (in the press).

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prominent eye-brows have assimilated even the eyes. The wide mouth has assymetrical thick lips. The bust has traces of transparent drapery. It is handmade and the back is also unfinished.

This terracotta is important as it recalls the profile and execution of the famous dancing girl and priest from Mohenjodaro and a terracotta head from Kalibangan.[3] Stylistically it has an echo of Harappan art tradition.

2. *Terracotta Male Figurine* (*Acc. No.* 207)

The figure (Pl. II) which is 8.00 cm. high has one arm akimbo, whereas the other one is missing. The lower portion is also broken. It is ill-fired as is evident from the black core of the broken arm. It is treated with a wash. The execution is extremely crude and primitive. The face which is 2.5 cms. long has only the idea of nose and mouth whereas eyes are quite worn out. The top is slightly broken. It is round at the back. The figure which is archaic in character has absolutely no detailed treatment and also lacks in the portrayal of the anatomical features.

Stylistically the figure, which is not of any high technical skill and also devoid of intricacies of the art, has no connection with the former example, although it bears some similarity in profile. Possibly the artist has followed the tradition of the grotesque figurines found at Mohenjodaro and other Harappan sites.

Discussion

The importance of these terracottas is, that, they have been reported from a region which is not in direct contact with Harappa culture. The eastern-most station of Harappa culture is Manpur in Bulandshahr District. Between Manpur and Shahabad, a number of stations of the ochre-coloured ware and copper-hoard objects have been noticed in the Districts of Etah, Itawa and Shahjahanpur. As Shahabad has yielded typical copper-hoard objects (now displayed in the National Museum) and also the ochre-coloured ware, it is not unlikely that the terracotta figurines in question may have been manufactured by these indigeneous people who came in contact

3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1960-61, p. 32.

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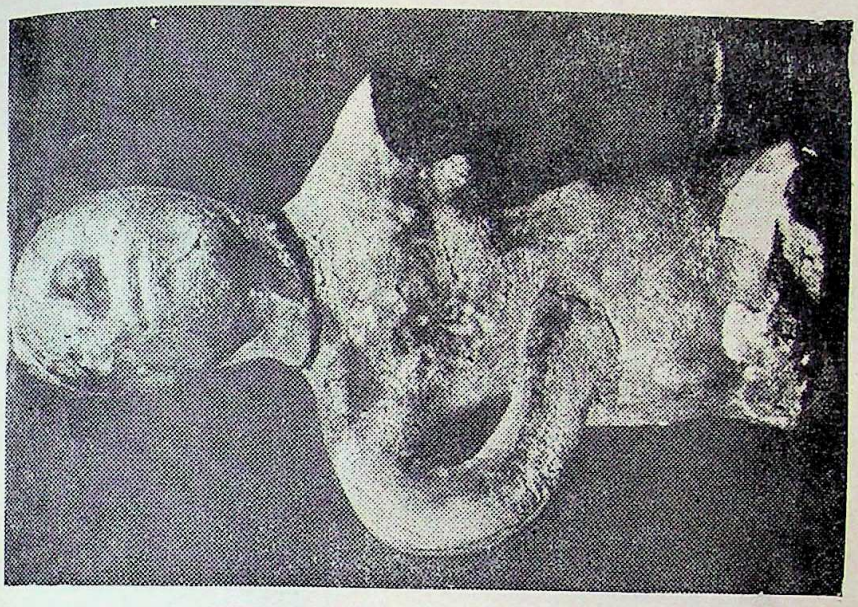

PLATE II. Terracotta Figurines from Shahabad

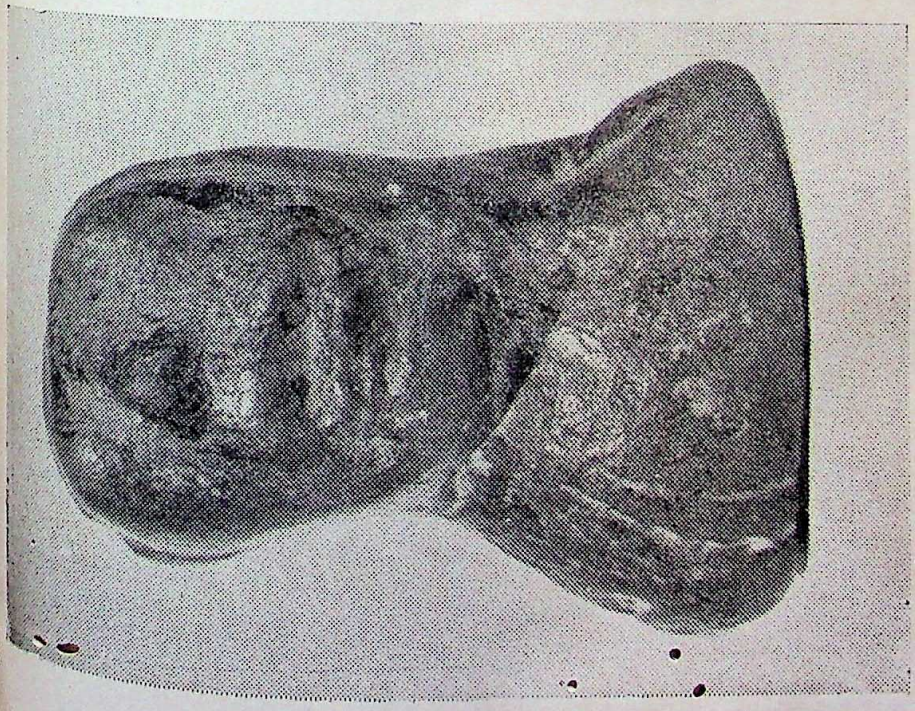

PLATE I. Terracotta Figurines from Shahabad

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with the Harappans of Sutlej–Yamuna region somewhere around the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. while moving towards upper Ganga–Yamuna doab.[4] In a recent excavation at Lal Qila,[5] Bulandshahr District, female terracotta figurines have been reported from the ochre–coloured ware horizon, whereas from Ambkheri,[6] Saharanpur District, only fragmentary animal figurines like humped bull were encountered. However, it is needless to say that the site requires a scientific digging for the confirmation of the above contact which in itself is a wellknown lacunae in Indian archaeology.

4. Dikshit, K. N., Harappa Culture in Western Uttar Pradesh, in *Bulletin of the National Museum*, No. 2, New Delhi, 1970, p. 28.

5. R. C. Gaur, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Private Communication. See also *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1970-71 (in the press).

6. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963-64, p. 56.

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Hero Stones of Tamilnadu

BY

R. NAGASWAMY

A number of hero-stones, ranging from 4th century A.D. to the present time have been found all over Tamiḻnāḍu. Recently the Tamiḻnāḍu State Department of Archaeology has copied about sixty hero-stones from the Chengam Taluk of North Arcot District. They range from the 6th century A.D. to the 10th century A.D. The recent survey has thrown new light on the nature of these hero-stones. The hero-stones are called *Vīra kallu* in the Kannada country, but in Tamil literature, they are invariably called *Naḍukal.*

The Tamil works, the Tolkāppiyam, the Puranānūru, and the Purapporuḷ Venbāmālai, are the main works which throw valuable light on Naḍukals. References are also met with in the Ahanānūru, the Aingurunūru, and the twin epics the Śilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkhalai.

The Tamil classification of life into Aham and Puram are well-known. Since the external activities of man are dealt with in Puram, details regarding the erection of hero-stones are found in the chapter on *Purattinai* of Tolkāppiyam.

The Tinais and Cattle-lifting

Four broad rubries, namely cattle-lifting, fort, territorial expansion and enmity, are recognised as causes of war in Tamil literature, each having its offensive and defensive aspects. On each occasion, a particular flower garland is worn by the hero. These are called *Vetci tinai, Karandai tinai* etc. Besides the hero, the weapons, and war drums are also said to be adorned with the particular flowers (Nedunalvadai, line 176). The Tolkāppiyam deals with the erection of Naḍukals immediately after the cattle-lifting operations, while the Purapporul Venbāmālai places it after dealing with all aspects of war.

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According to Tamil traditions, cattle-lifting is a defensive expedition. War generally is wrought with indiscriminate killing. It was therefore necessary to protect the weaker sections of the society, like children, women, old, Andaṇar and cattle. It is for this reason cattle were first removed to safety by the invader (Puram 9). When the cattle were thus lifted, it is an indication of the impending invasion. Ilampūranar, the celebrated commentator on Tolkāppiyam states that, it was a habit among people of hilly tract, (*Kuruñji nilam*) to steal the cattle of nearby countries.

When erected?

Naḍukals were erected to commemorate the death of heroes in any aspect of battles. Naḍukals were also erected for other heroic forms of death. The Chola king, Kopperuncōla died by *Vaḍakkiruttal* i.e. fasting. A Naḍukal was erected over his remains (Puram, 221). The chaste wife who committed Sati, (immolation) with the body of her husband was also honoured with a Naḍukal. Naḍukals were erected for those whose bodies were cremated. It is seen from the Puranānūru, the bodies of most of the kings and Veḷir chieftains were cremated and Naḍukals were erected to propitiate their souls. When Atiyamān Neḍumān Añji died in the battle, his body was cremated (Puram, 231) and a Naḍukal was erected and bali offered to him (Puram, 232). The Purapporuḷ Venbāmālai, speaks of a particular turai called *Pānnāttu*. In this, the Pāṇar are said to cremate the body of soldiers who died in the battlefield. Naḍukals ought to have been erected for such soldiers as well. However it is not known whether Naḍukals were erected for those whose bodies were interned in an urn burial. Most likely stones were erected on such occasions as well.

Where?

As mentioned earlier, besides the literary references, the hero-stones that have survived, are our main sources. The recent survey shows that Naḍukals were erected, a little away from the residential areas. In almost all cases the Naḍukals are found outside the residential parts of the villages. There are instances where two or three hero-stones are found in the same place devoted to

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FIG. 1. A hero stone relating to the death of two heroes in a battle in the reign of Simhavishnu, Koraiyaru, Dharmapuri District

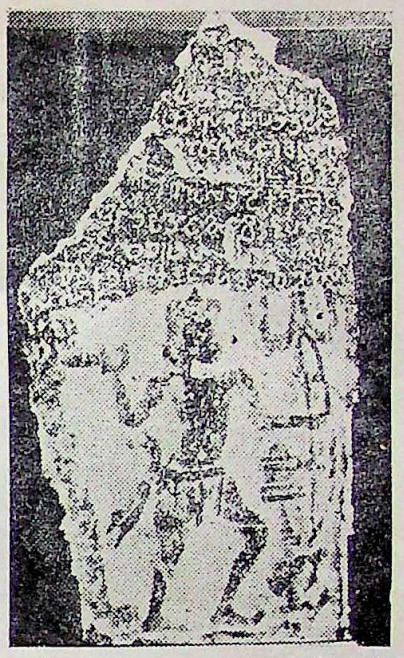

FIG. 2. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero during the reign of Mahendravarman, Se. Kudalur, North Arcot District

FIG. 2A. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero during the reign of Simhavishnu, Narasingannallur, North Arcot District

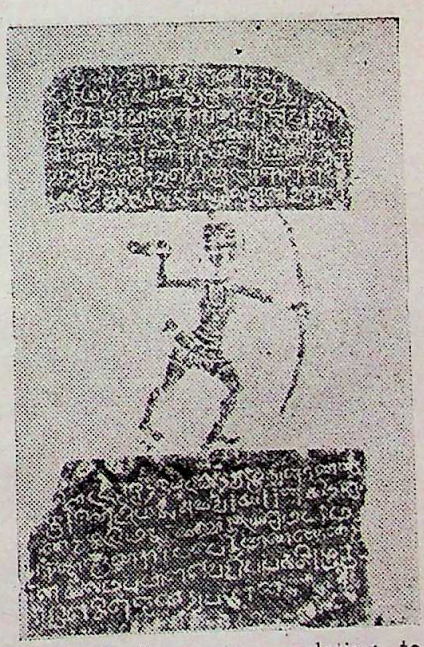

FIG. 3. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero during the reign of Kampavarman, Chinayyanpettai, North Arcot District

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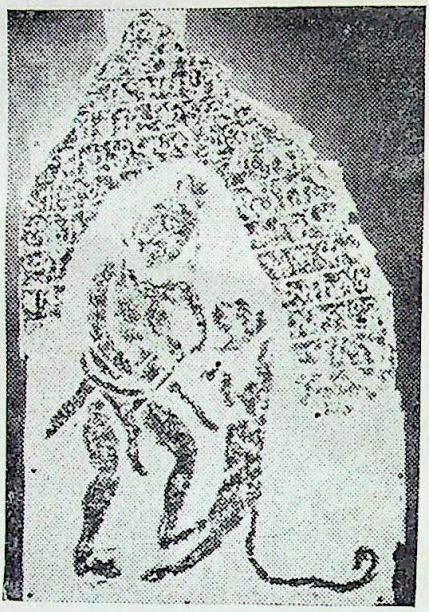

FIG. 4. A hero stone relating to the death of a hero while fighting with a tiger, Kīlmuttugur

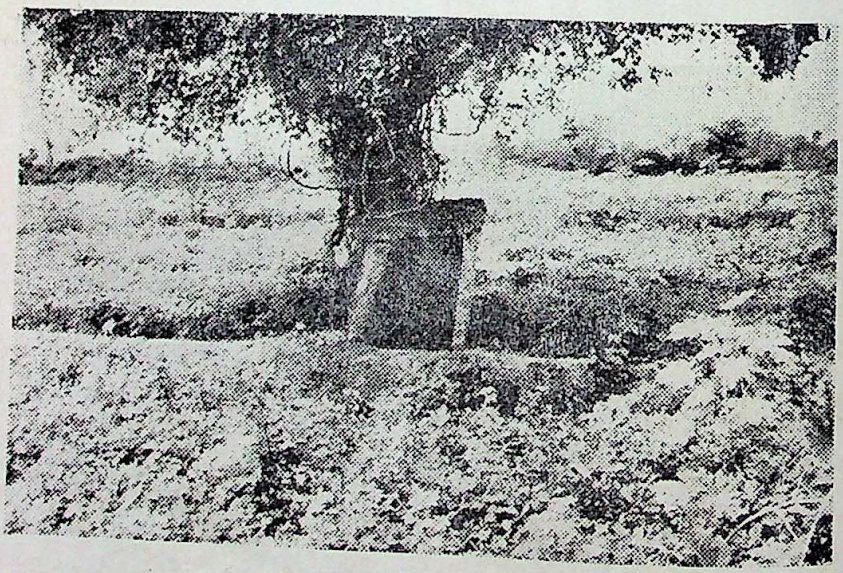

FIG. 5. நடுகல் (வேட்டுவன் கோயில்) வடிவுள்ளமங்கலம், கோவை மாவட்டம்

A dolmenoid hero stone of the reign of Rajendra Chola, Vadivullamangalam, Coimbatore District

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heroes who fell in the same battle. There are also instances where the figures of two heroes are portryed in one stone (Fig. 1), recording the death of them in the same battle. In some instances Naḍukals relating to the reign of various kings and even various dynasties are found in the same place. For example at Sattanūr, Naḍukals relating to the reign of Pallava Mahēndra, Narasimha and of the reign of Parāntaka-Cōḷa are found planted side by side. This suggests that the place served for erecting Naḍukals like a cemetery, for few centuries. Naḍukals are also found on the lake bunds (Fig. 2) in some cases. There are also instances when heroes fell in two different villages during the same battle and Naḍukals were erected in the respective villages. There are some Naḍukals in the interior forests, far away from any habitation (Fig. 2A). It is likely that these Naḍukals were erected in the very same place where the heroes fell.

Names

These Naḍukals continue to receive worship with great reverence even to this day. In most part they are called Veḍiyappan in North Arcot, Dharmapuri and Salem Districts. They are also called by other names as Vedarkoil, Kṛṣṇārappan, Mīnārappan and Sanniyāsiappan. In some places they are called Aiyyanārappan or Añjanēyar, an obvious confusion with these well-known deities. Besides the common name Veḍiyappan, they are also given some special names which suggest the reminiscence of heroism and their funerary associations. Thus in one case the Naḍukal is referred to as *Siraimīttān* i.e., rescuer of captives and in another *Sāvumeṭṭu* veḍiyappan (Fig. 3) i.e., the deity of the death mound.

The Nature of Naḍukals

The Naḍukals generally carry the figure of a hero—in most cases idealised—with a bow in one hand and arrow, sword or dagger in the other. In some cases the figure is shown carrying a shield and a sword. Usually the heroes are shown wearing a short lower garment, and bare-bodied above. Some form of cap with a protruding knob at the top is seen on the head. In most cases two vessels, one in the form of spouted *kuṇḍika* and the other like that of a relic casket are portrayed on either side of the legs. In some,

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mirror with a handle is also shown. Some Naḍukals bear the figures of cattle relating to the encounter. Another common encounter seems to be with tigers. Two hero-stones have come to light wherein, while fighting a tiger the hero is said to have died (Fig. 4). In such cases, the figure of the hero is portrayed fighting with a tiger. The inscription giving the name and the details about the hero, the nature of the encounter in which he died and the name and regnal year of the ruler, are inscribed in the same face, above, below or on the sides of the figure. There are a number of stones which do not bear any figure or epigraph but are planted by the side of these Naḍukals. Probably they also were Naḍukals erected to fulfil the ritual needs of those who didn't have enough means. There are also a number of Naḍukals bearing figures of heroes, but with no inscriptions. A number of hero-stones belonging to the Vijayanagar period (14th to 17th century A.D.) are found with the figure of the hero accompanied by one or more of his consorts, but without inscriptions. It is not known whether the consorts figured committed sati on the death of the hero. The Naḍukals of the early period, 4th to 8th century, are figured in thin flat slabs of moderate height. The figures are cut in low relief but are shown in animated actions. Naḍukals erected in the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarman are singularly beautiful. The Naḍukals of the later period are carved in thick slabs, the figures are in high relief, but are stiff, conventional and lack elegance.

Dolmenoid Naḍukals

It is of interest to see that a majority of them are single slabs, standing erect. A few Naḍukals have survived, in their original form. These in the form of dolmens consist of three upright slabs topped by a cap slab. The figure is portrayed at the back slab with the inscription. In one case inscription is also found on the side slab (Fig. 5). Such dolmenoid hero-stones suggest that originally all such Naḍukals were erected as dolmens. This also fits in with the mode of erecting Naḍukals as described in Tamil literature.

From the Tolkāppiyam and Purapporuḷ Venbāmālai and other citations we understand the following process of erection.

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The first stage, *Kātci,* is the selection of stone. The leader of the tribe accompanied by others goes to the nearby forest for making a selection of stone; invokes the god, burns incense, offers flowers and selects the stone. The second stage *Kālkōl,* is the removal of stone; flowers and water are sprinkled on the stone; incense is burned, the bell and *parai* are played; the stone is praised and then removed. The third stage *Nīrpaḍai,* is placing it in water for some period to counter the effects of weathering due to sun's rays. It is praised, cleaned, anointed with fragrant liquids and either placed inside a pond or, a special tub. The fourth stage, is the erection of the Naḍukal, the stone is garlanded, bell is rung, toddy is sprinkled, peacock's feather is tied, the hero's name and fame are inscribed and in the presence of all the stone is planted. In the fifth stage, *Perumpadai*, the dead hero is invoked in the stone and thenceforth considered a divine being. The sixth stage, *Vāltal* is the erection of an abode of worship and offering to the weapons.

All these six parts are *angas* of the same Naḍukal ceremony. It may be seen from the last stage called, *Vāḷtal*, i.e., adoration in Toḷkāppiyam, and *il kondu puhudal* in Purapporuḷ venbāmālai, Naḍukal had become temples of the dead and received worship. The erection of dolmenoid Naḍukal, fulfils the need of a temple. In the case of some Cōḷa kings actual temples were erected where the kings' remains were interred and such temples were called *Paḷḷippaḍai*

Worship and beliefs

As mentioned earlier, these Naḍukals, receive regular worship even to this day. Annual festivals are held with great pomp. In front of the stone, swords and tridents are planted. They are also anointed, garlanded and offered worship. The worship of these weapons is mentioned in early literature as well. The Purapporuḷ venbāmālai (Verse 253) refers to the offering of food to the sword of Naḍukal.

Besides these weapons, huge terracotta horses are placed in front of them. Terracotta figures of cattle, men, women and children are also placed in front. These votive offerings are placed in fulfilment of their vows and prayers. Animal sacrifice particularly that of ram and cock are also offered during annual

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festivals. Offering of liquor, to the Naḍukals is an ancient custom mentioned in Sangam literature. Avvai speaks of the offering of liquor to the Naḍukal of Atiyamān Nedumān Añji (Puram, 232). The representation of spouted *kuṇḍika* in all the Naḍukals, probably had some connection with this rite.

An important belief among the people is that, the worship of Naḍukals, brings forth rains and fertility to the soil and prosperity to the clan and people. Even now, the local people offer special worship to these Naḍukals, when rain fails, or in times of drought. This belief again seems to have been held from hoary past. A verse (263) in Puram refers to this belief. In the epic, Śilappatikāram, the Kuravar of the hilly region, exhorted their folkmen to worship Pattini, (who ascended heaven) so that there may be plenty of rain and fertility.

The reverence with which these Naḍukals are worshipped, even to-day bespeaks of this great tradiiton.

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Naga Hills Boundary Disputes (1842-1872)

BY

S. K. Barpujari

Ever since the birth of Nagaland in December, 1963, roughly a 200-mile stretch of boundary has become the bone of contention between this state and Assam. Despite negotiations at different levels, the boundary question between the two is yet to be settled. In the meanwhile, charges and counter-charges of aggression and encroachments hurled by the one against the other has been straining the relations between them. The dispute arises out of the conflicting interpretations of the 1925 notification which defined the southern boundary between Assam and the Naga Hills District which was then a part of the province of Assam. Assam Government accepts the notification as unambiguous, but Nagaland considers this as imaginary. The latter wants New Delhi to appoint a Boundary Commission to go into the whole question. The Government of Assam, on the other hand, is opposed to it: in its opinion the boundary between the two states had been clearly defined by the notification referred to above.

On the resumption of Upper Assam from ex-Raja Purandar Singh in 1838, the British Government inherited a legacy of hostile relationship with the Eastern Nagas who inhabited the hills south of the district of Sibsagar. Nevertheless, the British Indian Government succeeded in winning over these Nagas by abolishing the heavy duties on salt and illegal extortions made by the former Government. On the other side of the frontier, the annexation of Cachar in 1832, brought the British into close proximity of the Angami, the most warlike of the Western Nagas.[1] This was soon followed by Angami incursions into villages held by British and Manipur Governments, disturbing thereby the peace and security of the North East Frontier. The task of controlling the Angamis was at first left to Manipur, which was then supposed to have exercised some sort of authority over the Southern portion of the

1. Owen, John, *Naga Tribes* (1844), pp. 88 cf.

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Naga Hills.[2] Manipur failed in its task; thereupon, in 1839–40 expeditions had to be sent against the raiders. For two years the Angamis suspended their raids into British territories, but continued to harry the villages under Manipur's jurisdiction.[3]

For the protection of the Manipuris, Captain Gordon, political Agent in Manipur proposed the assumption of direct management of the Angami Hills. To implement the same, he suggested the construction of a military-road through the hills with a line of posts all along its strategic points and the gradual subjugation of the Angamis living on both sides of the road in the course of its undertaking.[4] The proposal did not find favour with Lieutenant Bigge, Principal Assistant, Nowgong who thought that the root cause of aggressions was the boundary disputes between the Angamis and the Manipuris, and that the same should be settled peacefully by a mission specially deputed for the purpose. The Government of India being averse to coercive measures readily accorded their approval to the proposal. Later in his successful 'peace mission',[5] Bigge met several Angami Chiefs who entered into agreement with him promising to recognise the river Dhansiri as the boundary between their hills and the British territory and assured not to violate it except for friendly intercourse with the people of the plains.

In the cold season of 1842, Bigge met Gordon at Manipur and after careful consideration jointly reported:

> We are of opinion that commencing from the upper part of the Jeree river, the Western frontier of Munnipore, the line of boundary formed firstly by the Dootighor mountain or that range of hills in which the Mookroo river takes its rise east on to the Barak river upto where it is joined by the Typhanee river, which flows along the eastern base of the Papolongmai hill; thirdly by the Typhanee river, upto its source in the Barail range of mountains; and fourthly by the summit or water-pent of the Barail range on to the source of the Mow

2. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1835, Nov. 17, No. 48.
3. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1840, May 25, No. 118.
4. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1840, Aug. 3, No. 93.
5. See Barpujari, S. K., "Early Peace Missions in the Naga Hills", (vide *Proceedings volume, Indian History Congress*, 1969, Varanasi, p. 369).

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river, flowing north from that point towards Assam, ... is the best boundary between Munnipore and the Angami country.[6]

Hitherto, the great central ridge or 'water-pent' formed 'the generally received line of boundary seperating Assam from Munnipore.' Bigge and Gordon's line defined only the Western and North-western boundaries of Manipur excluding from it the Angami country proper, but including the Maos 'allied to the Angamis by race and customs'. This virtually seperated all the Angamis from the Naga clans in obedience to Manipur and its Raja had lost control or authority North of the new line. Bigge and Gordon's boundary was confirmed by the Government of India, but instructions actually issued to the political Agent in Manipur, were not known. Subsequent events, however, showed that neither the Government of India took the settlement seriously, nor did the Raja of Manipur ever accept it.[7]

To the utter disappointment of the Government, Bigge and Gordon's line did not put a stop to Angami raids into the territories held by the British and Manipur. As a matter of fact, until 1850, as many as eight expeditions had to be sent out against them, but none was attended with success. Being 'utterly sick of Naga affairs', at last in 1851, the Government of India decided on a policy of absolute non-interference in regard to the Nagas.[8] British troops were withdrawn from the hills and to protect its possessions an English officer was deputed to Asaloo in North Cachar (1853). During this period, the Manipuris being not satisfied with the boundary settlement not only encouraged but directly helped the pro-Manipuri Nagas against the British. Such intrigue and active interference on their part adversely affected the British position in the Angami Hills.[9]

6. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1842, Jan. 24, No. 71.

7. In reply to an order of the Government asking the Political Agent, Manipur and the Principal Assistant, Nowgong to undertake annual visits to the Angami Hills, the former official wrote "in the absence of a post at Papolongami, and in the absence of an intermediate post between that place and Munipore, and while no settlement of boundary has been made with the Munipore Government, I forsee obstacles in the way of a British officer paying visits to the Angami country from Munipore".

8. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1851, Feb.7, No. 206.

9. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1851, June 13, No. 110.

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The experiment of non-interference simply resulted in repeated Angami raids even into British territories and this called for definite action. Accordingly in 1866, the formation of a new district with headquarters at Samaguting was announced by the Government of India and Lieutenant John Gregory took charge of it as Deputy Commissioner. The district comprised of that part of Nowgong lying on the right bank of the Dhansiri, the Naga Hills and the country lying on both banks of the river Doyang. Its southern boundary was defined to run along the crest of the Barail range, from the sources of the Rengma or Doyang river to the small Western feeder of the sources of the Dhansiri river.[10]

From the middle of the last century, European speculators had taken more interest in tea-plantation and exploitation of minerals and forest products in Upper Assam extending to the foot of the Naga Hills. As a result a good number of tea-gardens had sprung up in the area south of Ladoigarh,[11] which was supposed to be the boundary between Naga Hills and Sibsagar District. An official report of 1871 states that there existed five grants south of the Ladoigarh and of the Athkhel and Geleki mouzahs, and also 'a cluster of gardens' at the point of intersection of the Ladoigarh with the Dhodur Ali which ran along the whole length of the Sibsagar District.[12] The planters who opened their gardens in these areas entered into agreements of different nature with the Naga chiefs under the firm belief that the lands belonged to the latter and not to the Government.

Consequent upon the rapid extension of tea-plantations into the areas claimed by the Nagas as their own and to the reluctance of the local authorities 'to recognise any frontier between the settled districts and the lands of the independent Nagas' the relation between the Nagas and the planters vis-a-vis the Government of India took a different turn. In 1864, Mr. Vanquilin, a planter in the Sibsagar district had a dispute with a Naga chief regarding a salt-spring situated in the country of the Joboka Nagas. With reference to this case Colonel Hopkinson, Commissioner of Assam,

10. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1866, Oct. 29, Nos. 61-2.

11. The Ahom Kings had raised an earthen embankment "Ladoigurh" at the foot hills of the Naga areas to prevent raids by the Naga tribes into the plains.

12. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Sept. Nos. 31-45.

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held the view that the southern boundary of Assam had always been held to be coterminous with the northern boundaries of Burma and Manipur along the centre of the Patkai range of hills. The tribes bordering Lakhimpur and Sibsagar Districts were within British boundaries, but the Government did not exact any revenue from them. Apprehending troubles, in view of planters taking lands from the Nagas by paying revenue to them, the Commissioner urged the Government to issue orders as to whether a formally demarcated Naga boundary should be recognised or whether the Patkai range should be preserved as the Southern boundary of Assam. He further stressed the necessity of proper demarcation of the boundary after regular survey and that acquisition of lands by settlers, European or native, should not be allowed on the Naga side of it.[13]

Frequent disputes also arose between the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills and the Government of Manipur regarding some villages situated east of the Rengma and north of the Barail range. Manipur administration contended that the assertion of the Bigge and Gordon line had prevented it from protecting its own subjects but the Nagas were left free to raid villages under Manipur at will. In February, 1867, in reply to a query, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal informed Colonel McCulloch, Political Agent, Manipur that 'in as much as a British Officer has now assumed direct administration of the Angami Naga Hills, all differences and disputes between the subjects of Munnipore and the Angami Nagas residing within our territories, should be referred to the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, and that Munnipoorees should be restrained from making incursions into any part of the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner'. 'Any outrage committed in Munnipore by Nagas from our side of the frontier', he added "should be reported at once to the Deputy Commissioner, who in concert with Munnipore Government, and the political Agent at Munnipore would take steps to punish the offenders".[14] The Lieutenant Governor further desired that Lt. Gregory and Dr. Brown (Political Agent, Manipur) should meet early and settle the boundary of that state with the Naga Hills, the former officer representing the Nagas.

13. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see disputes between planters and Nagas).
14. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see the Assam policy).

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Towards the close of 1867, an outrage was committed by some Nagas on the Geleki guard-house and this was followed in March 1869 by the abduction of three labourers of the towkok tea-garden. These were considered by the Deputy Commissioners concerned as mere acts of reprisals by the Nagas for encroachment of their boundary. On receipt of these reports, the Lieutenant Governor directed the Commissioner of Assam to specifically state what were the practically recognised limits of the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar towards the Naga frontier. Captain Campbell, Deputy Commissioner, Sibsagar was not definite as to the limits of his civil and criminal jurisdiction, admitting, however, that tea-grants had been made south of the Ladoigurh Road. He brought home to the Government of Bengal the necessity of making definite arrangements regarding the boundary between his district and Naga Hills.[15]

In September, 1869, the Government of Bengal deputed Captain Butler who had in the meantime succeeded Gregory as Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, to meet Dr. Brown, Political Agent in Manipur for settling the Naga Hills-Manipur boundary question. Both these officers were instructed to confine themselves to clearly ascertaining and pointing out the Bigge and Gordon line and "to guard against the introduction of disturbing causes such as Munnipore Government has always proved to be on that frontier". On the question of proper boundary between Assam and the Angami Nagas on one side and Manipur on the other, the Government of Bengal observed:

> It is really so far as the Government is concerned a matter of no importance where the boundary should run except on the one cardinal point of having the best boundary which circumstances will allow, with a view to the defence and security of the Assam border. Bearing this important matter in mind, the more the British Government restrict themselves to the plains, and leave the Angami Nagas to themselves, the better.[16]

15. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see Disputes between Planters and Nagas).

16. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Sept. (Vol. 186, see The Boundary Dispute).

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The recrudescence of dispute convinced the Government of India the inexpediency of allowing extension of tea-gardens beyond the recognised limits of British jurisdiction. In August 1869, Hopkinson was directed not to make any new grants south of the Ladoigarh road pending final orders of the Government. This prohibition was soon extended to lands in any part of Assam beyond the limits of the recognised revenue jurisdiction.[17] Notwithstanding this, when the disputes between planters and the Eastern Nagas on so-called encroachments continued, the Government of India became convinced of the necessity of demarcating the boundaries of the two districts. In September, 1869, it was proposed to send a topographical survey party to the entire frontier, both north-east in Assam as well as east in Manipur. In view of the probable risks and difficulties attending the operations, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal recommended merely "a reconnoissance" instead of a full-scale survey of the areas concerned.[18] When it was later made known that some tea-grants had been made outside the limits of the revenue settlement of Sibsagar inspite of the standing orders of the Government of India, the Commissioner was directed in September 1870 that instead of confining the survey strictly to the limits of the revenue paying mouzas it might be so far extended to take in any grants south of the Ladoigarh care being taken to avoid raising the suspicion of the Nagas. It was also suggested that any claim made by the Nagas to these lands might be bought up by paying moderate compensations.[19]

In pursuance of the orders of the Govt. of India, Butler and Brown commenced their survey of the Naga Hills-Manipur boundary as laid down by Bigge and Gordon in 1842. They found no difficulty in identifying it until they reached its extreme eastern end which Bigge and Gordon described as the Barail range as far as the source of the Mow river. Butler identified Sijoo with Mow; Brown was also emphatic in saying that the only Mow in existence was the western branch called Zullo by Butler. If Butler's views were to be accepted then several villages over which

17. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1869, Oct. No. 73; *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1869, Nov. No. 138
18. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1869.
19. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1873, July, No. 469.

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Manipur had been exercising control would have to be included in the Naga Hills District. Although the two officers were partly successful in tracing the Bigge-Gordon line, they could not come to any definite agreement. Consequently in November 1870, the Government of India appointed a Boundary Commissioner in the person of J.F. Browne, Civil and sessions Judge of Chittagong whose decision in the matter would be final. He was directed firstly to determine the actual boundary line as laid down by Bigge and Gordon. Secondly, if for political and other reasons, he considered that the line should be deviated from, and that Naga villages which were excluded from Manipur in 1842, should now be included within that state, he should indicate on the survey map how the boundary of 1842 would have to be deviated upon. The Government of Bengal directed the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills and Political Agent, Manipur to accompany the Boundary Commissioner and furnish him with all relevant papers and necessary information.[20]

Browne (Boundary Commissioner) found that the main question at issue between Manipur and the Government of India was the recognition or otherwise of the claim now made by Manipur to extend its jurisdiction not only to the north of 1842 line, but to the east and north-east of its terminal point and across the natural boundary of Assam towards the settled district of Sibsagar. He rejected the claim of Manipur to a group of five villages north of the Sijoo, known as Sopvomah, and proposed to take them from Manipur in lieu of a compensation of Rs. 400 per annum which being the revenue derived by that state from these villages.[21] After long-drawn arguments and counter-arguments Browne settled the disputed boundary between Manipur and Naga Hills

In the new settlement, the line of 1842 was maintained in all essentials so far as it was identified A few villages on the dividing range of the water-pent over which Manipur has acquired supremacy were demarcated as belonging to that state; and from the termination of the line of 1842 at a point called the Telizo peak eastward of the water-shed of the main line of hills which divide the affluents of the Brahmaputra from that of the Irrawady as far

20. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, Nov. No. 192.
21. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Sept., (Vol. 186, see Boundary Disputes).

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as the Patkai pass was declared to be the limit of Manipur on its northern frontier. The Naga Hills District was advanced to march with the boundary of Manipur as now determined The Kuki colonies lying between the Naga Hills and Manipur were brought under jurisdiction of the former district.[22] This settlement deprived Manipur of a considerable part of the hills which had been actually under its control. Manipur objected to the settlement but these were overruled by the Government of India.

In March 1871, following a quarrel between Mr. Eades, a tea-planter and the Changoni Nagas, the boundary question again came to the forefront. Campbell (D. C. Sibsagar) urged the Government to define the boundary of his district and to specify distinctly what Government would protect and what it would not. Hopkinson, opposed as he was to the notion of a fixed boundary rejected the proposal. He favoured a military or effective occupation of Naga territory as well as of the Naga Hills District. In other words, he desired to bring all the territories not included in Bhutan, Manipur or Burma directly under British subjection.[23] Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal expressed the view that the whole of the Naga Hills so far as known might be considered as British territory subject to British control. But he considered it inexpedient for the present to introduce its jurisdiction into any semi-independent Naga territories wherein he wanted to exercise only political control which would succeed in keeping peace in the country between Manipur and Assam and in settling Sibsagar frontier.[24]

Soon afterwards, a massacre perpetrated upon a party of Borlangee Nagas by the Kamsingia tribe within two miles of a tea-estate convinced Sir George Campbell that time had come for laying down the boundary to determine British jurisdiction in Sibsagar as well as in the other districts of Assam. He desired that the same should be laid down on the principles to be applied to the north of Kamrup or in the mode of demarcating to be pursued along the line of Tibetan, Bhutia, Aka and Dafala fron-

22. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1872, July, No. 243.
23. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, (Vol. 186, see Disputes between Planters and Nagas).
24. *Bengal Judicial Proceedings*, 1871, Oct., No. 207.

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tier; and with reference to any specially valuable forests, India-rubber, opium lands, or other lands which for sufficient cogent reasons it might be desirable to include within the line of ordinary civil jurisdiction.[25] Already occupation of tribal lands for tea-plantation and exploitation of mines, and forests for elephants and India-rubber led to serious complications with the Nagas and other hill tribes. To prohibit the entry of strangers to tracts where adequate control could not be exercised, the Government of India enacted the Innerline Regulations in 1873.[26] The Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar was instructed not to allow European planters or businessmen to accept any grant beyond the innerline or under a tenure from any chief or tribe. Beyond this line, the tribes were left to manage their own affairs with only such interference on the part of the frontier officers in their political capacity as might be desirable with a view of establishing a personal influence for good among the chiefs or the tribes.[27]

From what has been discussed above, it will be evident that the boundary disputes of the Naga Hills remained un-settled till 1874 when Assam was formed into a separate province and the administration of the Nagas came under the direct responsibility of the newly appointed Chief Commissioner. One should also take note of the growing tendency on the part of the local authorities of refusing to recognise any boundary between the Nagas and the settled districts of the plains, while pursuing at the same time more or less a hard and fast boundary between Manipur and the Naga Hills. The Inner line indicated in no way the territorial frontier, but only the limits of the administered areas, nor did it decide the sovereignty of the territories beyond. It set at rest the attempt of the local authorities to bring the country between the settled districts of British India and Burma under direct administration. Subsequent history showed that even this line was made to move according to the convenience or otherwise of the local authorities. No wonder, therefore, boundary disputes between Naga Hills and adjoining territories continued with occasional breaks till our own times.

25. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1873, July, No. 469.
26. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, 1872, Feb., No. 131, *Account of the Province of Assam*, Shillong, 1903, p. 156.
27. *Ibid.*

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Execution of Guru Arjan

BY

BAKHSHISH SINGH NIJJAR

Execution of the 5th Sikh Guru Arjan Dev (1563–1605 A.D.) has gathered much controversy among the scholars of Panjab History. One group among them is of the opinion that Guru Arjan Dev was ordered by the emperor Jahangir to be executed on account of his increasing religious influence amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. Therefore, he was for years thinking of either putting an end to his religious preachings, which the emperor contemptuously called "false traffic", or making Musalman of him.

The other group does not agree with this opinion and it says that the execution of Guru Arjan was purely a political one. This group holds the view that the Guru helped the rebel Prince, against the monarch of the time and thus the Guru could not escape from the wrath of the king, who awarded condign punishments to all the political offenders. However, a detailed study of the facts and circumstances can throw light on the whole episode.

Circumstances Leading to the Execution

Prince Khusrau was the eldest son of Jahangir, born to his queen Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber, on August 6, 1587 The Prince was a young boy of seventeen years, of eminently handsome countenance, agreeable manners and irreproachable character at the death of his grand-father, Akbar, who had directed his training himself. At one time, Akbar had nominated him as his successor, which created a deep jealousy between Jahangir and his son Khusrau. After the death of Akbar, the crevice of jealousy had all the more widened between the father and the son. Mirza Aziz Koka, the most powerful noble of Akbar's Darbar, had married his daughter to Khusrau, and had every reason to long for Khusrau's accession to the throne, after Akbar. Khusrau himself was no less desirous of the throne.

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Apprehending all these consequences, Jahangir imprisoned Khusrau in the fort of Agra.

Joannes De Laet, the Flemish Geographer, a contemporary traveller, has narrated the incident in these words:—

"In the year 1605 A.D., the first year of Jahangir, the king being in doubt concerning the loyalty of his son Khusrau asked the most prominent of the Umera, Mirza Sharif Khan[1] for advice as to what he should do with his son. Mirza advised the king to put the Prince's eyes out. The king hesitated and delayed, where upon Khusrau, who had taken alarm and had gained some inkling of what was intended, plotted to escape and wrote to his old friend, Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi. Akbar had appointed Hasan Beg, as the Governor of Kabul. The fort of Rohtas was also in his fief. Thus Hasan Beg had a strong hold over the north-west frontier province of India. Khusrau sent a message to expedite his return and come to Khusrau's assistance with all the troops he could gather; for he himself was planning secretly to leave Agra with the most faithful and brave of his followers, and to repair to Lahore."

Hasan Beg Badakhshi, in accordance with the Prince's request, hastened to meet him (from Kabul) as rapidly as possible. When he had reached Akbarpur, only 24 Kos from Agra, the Prince, who had been informed of his approach, stole out of the fort of Agra at evening time with a body of picked troops. The Kotwal and commander of the imperial guard, whose name was Khwaja Malik Ali[2] had not yet left the guard house, but did not dare to stop the Prince. The fugitives extinguished the lights wherever they went, looted a few shops, and then left the city as swiftly as possible. Khusrau paid his respects on the way to the tomb of his grand-father (Akbar), and at dawn arrived in Akbarpur with 500 troops, mostly mere lads. Hasan Beg was awaiting him there with about 3000 cavalry. Khusarau proceeded with these as quickly as possible to Lahore.

On learning of the Prince's flight the King ordered the Kotwal Khwaja Malik Ali to give chase with the cavalry under his com-

1. The Grand Wazir.
2. The Kotwal was I'timad Khan. When Shaikh Farid was sent in pursuit of the Prince, the Kotwal was made scout and intelligence officer.

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mand. He started at dead of night with 300 men. The same night Murtaza Khan was despatched in support with 1500 cavalry. By the advice of Mirza Amir Ali, the King himself followed at dawn with the swiftest elephants and several Amirs. In order to expedite his march he took no baggage at all.

The Prince was at the most 10 Kos ahead of Khwaja, 10 or 12 Kos more ahead of Murtaza Khan, and about as much again ahead of Jahangir. He looted all the villages on the way, carried off the royal horses from the post-stations, and compelled all the travellers and traders whom he met on the road to accompany him. Having in this fashion collected by no means contemptible a force, Khusrau reached Lahore on the ninth day of his flight. However, Ibrahim Khan, a Pathan, whom the King had shortly before despatched to Lahore, with the authority of governor, hearing of the Prince's flight, prepared with the utmost speed to intercept him, and fortified the citadel of Lahore against him.

Another unforeseen mischance happened to the fugitive. Said Khan[3] on his way to Kashmir, had just encamped with his force only three Kos from the city. The Prince invited him in a friendly fashion to join hands with himself, but Said Khan, did not at first reject the proposal. However, on reaching the bank of the river Ravi in company with the Prince's soldiers he cleverly gave them the slip, and caused his boatmen to land him at the fort. Meanwhile, Mir Jamalu-d-din Hussain, whom the king had sent ahead to catch up with Khusrau, announced to the Prince that the King had handed over to him Kabul and Bangash, and bade him, leave Lahore and repair to those provinces. However, Khusrau demanded for himself the whole district of Sirhind and laid seige to Lahore.

Eight days later, on learning that the King had crossed the river Beas which flows by Sultanpur and that Murtaza Khan was about to cross the river Nakodar, Khusrau resolved to risk a battle, collected all his stragglers, and advanced against his father's army with 20,000 cavalry. After marching 30 Kos he came face to face with Murtaza Khan, who on learning of the Prince's advance had

3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. 1, Rogers & Beveridge, p. 62.

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drawn up his forces to oppose him. The weather was rainy, and a storm was raging.

The battle began, with a skirmish between the Prince's troops and the royal cavalry, which scarcely numbered 300. The latter were caught as if in a net. Saiyad Jalal, their commander, was killed, and they were being rapidly driven off the field when Khwaja Malik Ali came up in the nick of time, with the main body of the royal army. He cried out that the King himself was close at hand, and thus inspired his own men and at the same time dismayed those of the Prince that Abdul Rahim flung away the Prince's standard. On this Khusrau's troops, imagining that their master had been killed, were so terrified that they took to flight, and dispersed in all directions. Many were killed or captured by the peasants for the sake of their horses and camels. The rest of the spoil came into the hands of royal forces, who thus gained a notable victory.

When the King came up, he named the place of the battle Fatehpur.[4] The Prince fled to Lahore with Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi, and Abdul Rahim. The last named stayed back but the Prince crossed the Ravi with Badakhshi on his way to the fortress of Rohtas. He succeeded in reaching the river Chenab and entered a boat to cross it. However, the boatmen had received instructions from the sons of Qasim Khan Namkin who were in command of the garrison of Rohtas. They ran the boat upon a sand bank in the middle of the river, and leaving the Prince swam away to the bank. Thus the poor wretch, together with Hasan Beg Khan, was captured by the Kings' forces, and was conducted to the King, who had already crossed the river Ravi, the river of Lahore.

On his return with his captives to Lahore where Abdul Rahim had also been discovered and dragged from his hiding place, the King ordered the peasants to cut down the trees and to fix sharp stakes on either side of the road.

4. Fatehpur. The place was called Bhairowal. It was bestowed to Shaikh Farid who was henceforth to be styled Murtaza Khan. Farid named it Faridabad. Bhairowal is on the right bank of the Beas on the road from Jullundur to Amritsar.

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Jahangir, who had established himself in Mirza Kamran's garden at Lahore,[5] was delighted at the tidings and despatched Sharif to fetch the captives. On May 1, the latter were brought to the city. The populace and the court alike were deeply stirred and waited in anxious suspense to know the fate reserved for the Prince. Jahangir himself was over-whelmed with sorrow and retired to a private room to weep out his feelings. He burst into tears at the thought of the strife within his family. Then becoming recollected he convened a darbar. The officers and courtiers stationed themselves, each in his place, with the gentry and the commonalty at a distance. The emperor remained seated on the throne. They ushered in Prince Khusrau, handcuffed and enchained, trembling and weeping, with Hasan Beg on his right and Abdur Rahim on his left. The scene melted the hearts of all. Khusrau attempted to prostrate himself before His Majesty, but was sternly told to stand in his place. Hasan Beg attempted to clear himself but was commanded to keep silent. Jahangir bitterly reproached Khusrau and ordered him into confinement.[6]

Barbarous punishments were meted out to the Prince's followers. Hasan Beg was sewn in the fresh skin of an ox, with horns obtruding and Abdul Rahim in that of an ass. Seated on the asses with their faces turned towards the tail, they were paraded through the streets of Lahore. Hasan Beg was suffocated to death within twelve hours, but Abdur Rahim's situation was stealthily eased by his powerful courtier-friends. After an intense suffering of twenty-four hours he was pardoned and restored to his old dignities.[7] A few days later a long line of gibbets appeared on each side of the road leading from Mirza Kamran's garden to the city of Lahore. On each gibbet appeared a prisoner impaled on the stake, writhing in agony. To complete the tale of barbarity, Prince Khusrau was led on an elephant through the ranks and was asked, in inhuman mockery, to receive the homage of his followers. The Prince's gentle soul was pierced with grief, sharp

5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 68; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid Khan, p. 13; Maasir-ul-Umera, Shah Nawaz Khan, p. 524.
6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 68; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid Khan, p. 16.; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I, Khafi Khan, p. 253.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, pp. 68-69; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, Mutamid Khan, p. 253.

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and well-neigh unbearable. He passed several days weeping in anguish.

Milder punishments were inflicted on two of his followers who had, taking advantage of his revolt plundered the people of Lahore. Amba was let off with a fine of Rs. 15,000, which was distributed in charity, while his associate Raju was put to death.[8]

Causes of Jahangir's Displeasure

It was under these circumstances, that Khusrau met Guru Arjan at Goindwal, on the way to Lahore. The whole dispute on the execution of Guru Arjan arose on the basis of his rebel son Khusrau's meeting with the Guru. Historians are almost unanimous in their view that the rebel Prince was blessed, financially helped and treated kindly by the Guru. About the monetary help, Jahangir himself wrote: "At last when Khusrau passed along this road, this insignificant low fellow made up his mind to wait upon him. Khusrau happened to halt at the place where he was. He (Arjan) came and saw, and conveyed some preconceived things to him and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which in Hindu terminology is called *Qashqa* (*Tika*) and is considered propitious. When this reached my ears, and I fully know his heresies, I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, dwelling places and children to Murtaza Khan and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures".[9]

The author of Dābistān-i-Mazāhib, a contemporary of Guru Har Gobind, writes: "His Majesty the late Nur-ud-Din Mohammad Jahangir, after the arrest of Khusrau, arrested and fined Guru Arjan Mal for the reason that he had prayed for the welfare of Prince Khusrau, the late Emperor's (Jahangir) son, who had rebelled against the father".[10] Gyani Gyan Singh writes: "Guru Arjan gave one lac of rupees and also made on his forehead

8. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I. pp. 69, 73; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 253.
9. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, p. 72.
10. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Muhsini-Fani, p.

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a finger mark in saffron, a symbol of sovereignty".[11] These views have further been corroborated by Bhai Santokh Singh: "Guru Arjan gave five lacs of Rupees as monetary assistance to Prince Khusrau".[12] Finch, a contemporary European traveller, wrote that the Guru gave three thousand ducats as monetary help to the rebel Prince. According to Mehma Parkash, "Chandu Shah accused the Guru that he helped Khusrau, with money".[13] "Guru Arjan financially helped Khusrau" writes Ganesh Das Wadhera.[14] "This was clearly not a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary punishment of a political offender".[15]

However, along with all the above-mentioned views we shall take into consideration Jahangir's own statement which he recorded in his Memoirs. "In Goindwal, which is situated on the bank of the river Biyah (Beas), there was a Hindu named Arjun, in the garb of a Pir or Shaikh, so much so that having captivated many simple-hearted Hindus, nay even foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and manners, he had poised himself about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him Guru, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic or he should be brought into the fold of Islam."[16]

According to G. C. Narang, Jahangir himself accuses Guru Arjan as a political offender: "Jahangir summoning the Guru before him, is represented as saying, 'Thou art a great saint, a great teacher and holy man, thou lookest on rich and poor alike.' It was, therefore, not proper for thee to give money to my enemy, Khusrau."[17]

Keeping in view the divergent views expressed, it might be stated that during Prince Khusrau's flight through the Panjab, he

11. *Panth Parkash*, Gyani Gyan Singh, p. 96.
12. *Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, Ras 4, Ank 29, Santokh Singh p. 2343.
13. *Mehma Parkash*, Sarup Das Bhalla, MS/792, p. 472.
14. *Char Bhag-i-Punjab*, Ganesh Das Wadhera, p. 107.
15. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, Jadunath Sarkar, p. 309.
16. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Niwal Kishore Press, p. 35.
17. *Transformation of Sikhism*, G. C. Narang, pp. 31-41.

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met the Guru on the way at Goindwal who congratulated him, put a saffron mark on his forehead, and gave him his blessings and financial help.[18] One author has gone to the extent of saying that the Guru gave fighting men also.

Contemporary as well as the later historians have categorically stated that the Guru helped the rebel Prince. It seems to me that Jahangir wrote these lines, "I should put an end to this false traffic or he (Arjan) should be brought into the fold of Islam," in a fit of anger, when the enemies of the Guru, out of their malice brought forth so many false and baseless reports. Guru Arjan Dev was to pay a heavy fine of two lacs of rupees; in case of his failure to comply with it, he should be tortured to death. Jahangir did not bother at all to stop the false traffic of "a Hindu shop." He never put any more Hindus to death on account of religious fanaticism. Jahangir lived 22 years more after this incident but we do not hear any instance where he persecuted the Hindus in this manner.

Guru Hargobind, son of the martyred Guru, was a close friend of Jahangir, who went about with a personal guard of sixty match-lock men and a mounted troop of three hundred horsemen in attendance. He founded Akal Takht at Amritsar, the future seat of the Sikh sovereignty. The sixth Guru had issued an encyclical letter to the *Masands* to the effect that he would be pleased with those of his followers who would in future bring offerings of arms and horses instead of money. His retinue included a number of drummers, dogs of the finest breed, and some tame leopards. A regular cantonment was established during Jahangir's reign at Amritsar, but the Mughal emperor never thought of "closing the shop" of the Hindu religion.

18. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, pp. 52-59; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, pp. 9, 10; *History of India*, Vol. VI, Elliot & Dowson, p. 448.

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Some Epithets of Brahmana Donees in South Indian Charters

BY

D. C. SIRCAR

The expression *gṛhīta-sāhasra* is sometimes found in South Indian records in the description of the Brāhmaṇa donees of copper-plate charters. In the Bandora (Goa) plates[1] of the 29th regnal year of the Maurya king Anirjitavarman (6th or 7th century A.D.) the donee of the grant, the Brāhmaṇa Hastyārya of the Hārita-gotra, is described as *gṛhīta-sāhasra* which was explained by Dr. G. S. Gai, the editor of the epigraph, as 'a person learned in the *Sāmaveda* which is supposed to have a thousand branches'. While entering the word in our *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*,[2] we did not consider the above interpretation satisfactory and thought that the correct meaning of the expression may be 'one from whom one thousand coins have been realised' at the time of creating the rent-free holding in his favour. It should, however, be admitted that the amount often realised by the State for the creation of a rent-free holding was very rarely mentioned in clear forms in ancient Indian documents.[3]. In any case, we have recently come across evidence which suggests a different meaning of the epithet.

The Marutura grant,[4] which was probably discovered in the old Hyderabad State, was issued in the 8th regnal year of the Cālukya king Satyāśraya Pṛthvīvallabha-mahārāja (Pulakeśin II, c. 610–42 A.D.). The grant was made in favour of the following Brāhmaṇas: (1–2) Jyeṣṭhakoṇḍa and Bhīmasvāmin who belonged to the Vāsiṣṭha-gotra and were experts in all the four Vedas (*Caturvedavid*), (3–4) Jannasvāmin and [Pa]ṇḍaraṅgasvāmin

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 293 ff.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 122.
3. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 115 ff.
4. *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series*, Hyderabad, No. 6, pp. 11-39; *P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, Dharwar, 1971, pp. 63 ff.

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of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, who were also experts in the four Vedas, (5-7) Divākarasvāmin of the Gautama-gotra, Bhonusvāmin of the Agniveśya-gotra and Revasvāmin of the Kāśyapa-gotra, all of them described as *Aśīti-tarkaka,* (8) Jannasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, described as *Gṛhīta-sāhasra,* (9-10) Ādityasvāmin of the Kauśika-gotra and Viṣṇusvāmin of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, both described as *Sahasra-tarkaka,* (11) .... svāmin of Vāsiṣṭha-gotra, and (12) Gopasvāmin of the Kāśyapa-gotra, called Varṇa-traya-nivṛtta. While editing the Marutura grant, Dr. S. Sankaranarayana observes, "the king gifted away the village of Maruṭūra together with Natavāṭa and Vattiparu (line 31) in favour of some eleven Brāhmaṇas and also to an individual who seems to have been described as a member not belonging to the first three castes, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśyā (*varṇa-traya-nivṛtta*) (lines 21-31). The names, *gotras* and educational achievements of all the twelve are given. Of the Brāhmaṇa donees, some were well versed in the four Vedas, some had mastered eighty *tarkas* (logics) and some others, thousand *tarkas.*"[5] We are inclined to disagree with some of the above views.

Gopasvāmin is called *Varṇa-traya-nivṛtta* probably meaning that he had dealings only with the Brāhmaṇas and not with any of the other three *varṇas.* It seems that he did not speak to and even avoided seeing non-Brāhmaṇas for fear of losing his holiness.

It will be seen that *Gṛhīta-sāhasra,* like *Caturvedavid, Aśīti-karkaka* and *Varṇa-traya-nivṛtta,* indicated a qualification of a suitable Brāhmaṇa for the purpose of making donation, either for learning or for holiness. *Gṛhīta-sāhasra,* if taken to indicate the learning of the Brāhmaṇas, would suggest that the persons in question accepted or appropriated or adopted an aggregate of one thousand objects (*sāhasra*). This seems to be explainable in two different ways.

In early times, especially in South India, the learning of a Vedic scholar was tested by a sort of lottery. A large number of small passages quoted from the Vedic literature on slips were

5. *P. B. Desai Felicitation* Vol., p. 64. The Vāsiṣṭha-gotra Brāhmaṇa, whose name is damaged in line 30, possibly had no descriptive epithet.

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kept in a *ghaṭikā* or *kumbha* (jar); the scholar had to take one of the slips out of the jar at a time and had to explain all questions relating to the passage.[6] Suppose, one scholar succeeded in explaining one thousand such slips at one sitting, he could probably be called *Gṛhīta-sāhasra* (*gṛhītaṁ sāhasraṁ yena*).

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[7] and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[8] give us an interesting story about testing the learning of a Brāhmaṇa at the royal court. It is said that king Janaka of Videha performed a sacrifice in which he bestowed huge largesses upon the Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pāñcāla country. In order to satisfy his curiosity as to which of the Brāhmaṇas was the most well-read, Janaka collected a thousand kine and tied ten *pādes* (quarters of the standard measure) of gold to every single horn of each cow and proclaimed that they should be taken away by him alone, who was the best cognisant with *Brahman*. The story goes that only Yājñavalkya had the courage of claiming them and succeeded in silencing, by his superior knowledge, all the disputants who challenged him. Now, if a scholar succeeded in defeating all disputants by satisfactorily replying to their queries and obtained one thousand cows or coins, he may also be called a *Gṛhīta sāhasra*.

Likewise, the epithets *Aśīti-tarkaka* and *Sahasra-tarkaka* also relate to the learning of the Brāhmaṇas. The word *tarkaka* meaning 'one who reasons', in the above expressions, may suggest a disputant who succeeds in defeating eighty or one thousand rivals who challenge him and put questions to him. This possibility reminds us of the Śarayantrin, i.e. one who became successful in the *Śarayantra* test of Mithilā. This was a test of scholarship of one who was prepared to answer and succeeded in answering any question on any *śāstra* put to him by any other scholar or by the common people.[9]

6. *JAIH*, Vol. V, pp. 256 ff.
7. Kāṇḍa XIV.
8. I. 1 ff.
9. Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 301; *Proc. AIOC*, Benaras, 1943; Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 1005.

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Compared to the above ways of testing one's knowledge, the present system of examination at our school, colleges and universities is no doubt a mere farce. In the universities of the West, sometimes questions typed on small slips are kept in a tray, and an examinee is called and asked to take up any of the slips and reply to the question it contains. He has to answer about three questions in the said fashion.[10] This is also a poor test of merit compared to the systems prevalent in ancient India.

10. *JAIH*, Vol. V, p. 259, note 20.

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Mudra Dharana

BY

N. JAGADEESAN

The *Mudrā Dhāraṇa* is the first of the *Pañca Samskāras* (the Five Sacraments) and consists of branding on the right and left upper arms of the initiate, the two chief symbols of Lord Viṣṇu, the disc and the conch respectively.[1] The branding instruments are made of copper, brass or silver and are heated to a temperature sufficient to singe the skin and leave a deep black mark on it. "For purposes of branding the sticks are heated in a fire in which the *sudarśana hōmam* is performed. If the Ācārya is a *gṛhasta* (married man) he heats the sticks after himself doing the *hōmam* and brands the initiate. If on the other hand the *Ācārya* happens to be a *sanyāsi* he requests a *gṛhasta* to do the *sudarśana hōmam* and then receives the heated rods bearing the emblems from him and does the branding. The *sanyāsis* of the Vaḍakalai persuasion cannot touch any metal under any circumstances. So the heated rods are not directly touched. They are covered with betel or plantain or mango leaves ..... The branding is then done. Some Ācāryas such as those of the Ahōbilam Mutt and a few Tenkalai Ācāryas do not consider the *sudarśana hōmam* as necessary and so they dispense with it."[2] These brandings are done chiefly at holy places, like Dvāraka, Brindāvan and Uḍki.[3]

This seems to be an ancient practice at least as old as Periāḻvār.[4] W. Crooke is of the view that "the original custom of branding the pilgrim with the sacred symbol of the God as a proof that he performed the pilgrimage is now often superseded by a mark made with moistened clay. But in South India, among the

1. "Preparatory discipline for *mantric* initiation requires the mark of the disc (*chakra*) or of the five weapons of Viṣṇu (*viz. cakra, śaṅkha, gada, khaḍga* and *chāpa*) being stamped on the several parts of the body with appropriate *mantras*": A. Govindacharya: *Life of Rāmānuja*, p. 66.
2. K. Rangachari, *Śrī Vaishṇava Brāhmans*, p. 35.
3. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI, p. 331.
4. *Periāḻvār Tiruppallāṇḍu*, St. 7; *Periāḻvār Tirumoḻi* 5:4:1.

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Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and Mādhvas, the visitor to the monastery (*maṭha*) is branded on both shoulders."[5] M. Monier-Williams says, "The pilgrims are often branded on their arms with a mark (*chāp*) of the *śaṅkha, gada, padma, kirīṭa, dhanus,* to serve as an evidence of their having accomplished a particular pilgrimage. At Dvāraka nearly 5000 persons are annually branded."[6] But, it is also possible to suppose that this sacrament is just a symbol of allegiance to one religious discipline.[7] It would seem to indicate ownership or a mark of identification as in the case of branding of horses etc. It might be the affixture of the Lord's seal on the devotees who belong to him. But the *Āgamas* have taken this rite to a religious plane. Another view regarding the significance of this ritual is that it signifies 'that the soul has been wedded to God as the wearing of bangles etc., by a dame signifies that she is joined in all faith to her husband."[8] The devotee is initiated into his appropriate status by the first chanting of the *Aṣṭākṣara* (the eight letters of the Lord's name: *Ōm Namō Nārāyaṇāya*) after he is ritually branded and the branding *guru* is the *mantrapratama* to be distinguished from the *mantrārttapratama*, the *guru* who explains the meaning of the supreme *mantra*.

Vēdānta Dēśika has suggested that the branding is efficacious for the following reasons: (1) The *sudarśana* (disc) and the *pāñcajanya* (conch) are the marks of the *Arca* of God which if the devotees carried on their person, will symbolise their love and affection for God. (2) The marks remind their receiver of the ideal of detachment from *samsāra* and attachment to God. (3) The marks are necessary for Śrī Vaiṣṇava duties like the worship of Viṣṇu in Śrī Vaiṣṇava shrines . (4) They are conducive to some unseen good. (5) They add internally and externally merit to the spirit of religion. (6) There is a spontaneous urge for them in the hearts of the people. (7) They come like spiritual inheri-

5. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, p. 26; E Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in South India*, Madras, 1906, p. 403 ff.

6. M. Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, p. 171, *footnote* No. 1.

7. Though the Vaiṣṇavas are famous for this sacrament, it is not as if the Śaivites have no corresponding rite. The bull and the trident used to correspond to the conch and the disc (*Periya Purāṇam; Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanār Purāṇam*, St. 152). But the Smārtas do not seem to have anything to do with the practice of branding.

8. A. Govindacharya, *Life of Rāmānuja*, p. 66.

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tance from the ancient seers. (8) They distinguish a Śrī Vaiṣṇava from a non-Śrī Vaiṣṇava. (9) They suggest the ideal intrepidity even in the face of death and deadly torture. (10) They remind a Śrī Vaiṣṇava of the ideal peace and goodwill and final release.[9] Satyavrata Singh suggests that the disc and the conch branding 'may be looked upon as *kaiṅkarya* (service) sign suggestive of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava ideal of selfless service to God and man."[10]

This procedure is called *Samāśrayaṇam,* that is, taking refuge in an Ācārya (strictly speaking *Āśiriyar*) and through him worshipping the Lord. Some Vaiṣṇavas treat this rite as possessing *adhṛṣṭārtha,* i.e. unseen meaning. This complex of rites is also known as *Pañca Samskāras.*

Śrī Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas rarely bestow *Mudrā Dhāraṇa* to castes like Ruṅgaru and Jotyphanad though *upadēśa* is offered.[11] "The Pāñcālas (Pāñcālaru who are carpenters, smiths, masons etc.) who worship Vishṇu are called Bagōṭa. They have among them a family dedicated to religion. The eldest son of this family succeeds his father to the dignity of guru. The guru is named 'Vipūr Vēñcaṭy Ācārya': Vipūr is his name (*sic*) and Vēñcaṭy Ācārya his title (*sic*). He travels about among his followers receiving their contributions and bestowing *upadēśa* and *mudrā-dhāraṇa.*"[12] "Branding for religious purposes is confined to Śrī Vaiṣṇavas and Mādhavas. Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brahmans are expected to undergo this ordeal at least once during their life-time, whereas Mādhva Brahmans have to submit to it as often as they visit their *guru* (head of mutt). Of men of other castes, those who become followers of a Vaiṣṇava or Mādhva Ācārya (*guru*) or mutt are expected to present themselves before the guru for the purpose of being branded. But the ceremony is optional and not compulsory as in the case of the Brahmans. Among Śrī Vaiṣṇavas the privilege of branding is confined to elderly members of the family, *sanyāsis* (ascetics) and the heads of various mutts. All individuals, male and female, must be branded, after the *upanayanam* in the case of males and

9. Satyavrata Singh, *Vēdānta Dēśika,* pp. 418-419.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 420.
11. F. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar,* Vol. I, p. 252.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 251.

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after marriage in the case of females. The disciples after a purificatory bath and worship of their gods, proceed to the residence of the Ācārya or the muti, where they are initiated into their religion, and branded with the *chakra* on the right shoulder and the *chaṅk* on the left ..... A person who has not been initiated thus is regarded unfit to take part in the ceremonies which have to be performed by Brahmans. Even close relations, if orthodox, will refuse to take food prepared or touched by the uninitiated."[13] "The fee is not fixed in the case of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas whereas Mādhvas are expected to pay from one to three months' income for being branded."[14]

H. H. Wilson recounts the efficacy of these marks. "We are told in the *Kāśi Khāṇḍ* that Yama directs his ministers to avoid such as bear them and that no sin can exist in the individuals who make use of them, be they of whatever caste."[15]

It is usual for certain scholars to draw a parallel between the rituals of one religion and those of others, with a view perhaps to suggest that one practice was influenced by another. But usually the truth is that most of the religious practices have independent origin. For religious instincts among ancient men, wherever they might be, tend to be similar. But it is interesting to note the similarities. Referring to the Ājīvikas, D. R. Bhandarkar says, "Again, as first pointed out by Prof. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball."[16] M. Yamunacharya says: " 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire' (Mathew 3:11). The parallel to this is the *tapa* sacrament which is the impressing of the symbols of *charka* and *śaṅkha*, the symbols of Vishṇu, by means of heated metal on the ' shoulders of Vaiṣṇavas."[17]

13. E. Thurston; *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 370.
14. E. Thurston; *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 372.
15. H. H. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures on the Religions of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 41, *footnote* No. 2.
16. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ājīvikas, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, p. 289.
17. M. Yamunacharya, *Christian Sacraments, Hindu Samskāras and the Rationale of Ritualism, Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All India Oriental Conference*, p. 404.

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The System of Cartazes

BY

B. S. SHASTRY

In the Archives of Goa there are a series of volumes entitled the *Livro de Cartazes* or the *Book of Cartazes*. The volumes contain manuscripts of *cartazes* or navigation permits issued by Portuguese authorities to native vessels. There are eight such volumes, covering the period from 1704 to 1817. Most of them are in good condition.

The volumes are of considerable significance for a study of the system by which the Portuguese tried to control the native sea-trade. Right from the beginning of their coming to India the Portuguese regarded themselves lords of the seas. They argued, therefore, that others could navigate the seas only with their permission which could be secured by obeying them and paying them tribute. They threatened to punish those who did not go by their institute. As Vasco da Gama, discoverer of the sea-route to India, put it, the King of Portugal was "the lord of the sea of the whole world, as also of all this coast (of Western India); by reason of which all the rivers and ports, which have navigation, ought to obey him, and pay tribute to his men who moved about in his fleets."[1] *Cartazes* were issued for no other reason, but to "conserve the right which the King of Portugal ..... acquired from the domination of the seas, conceding the liberty of navigation to the vessels of those persons who obtain cartazes for them."[2]

In keeping with this poilcy, a native who wished to put a vessel to sea for trade had to secure a *cartaz*[3] from the Portuguese authorities. Such a *cartaz* was usually valid for one year. A fee

1. Correa Gasper, *Lendas da Inlia*, tomo I, parte, I, p. 290.

2. Pereira, A. B. de Bragança: *Arguivo Português Oriental*, tomo I, vol. III, parte IV, p. 126.

3. See the Appendix for the usual form and content of a *cartaz*.

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had to be paid for it. The fee was in proportion to the capacity of the vessel. Some times, however, it was issued without any payment. In such cases it was generally in consideration for certain reciprocal concession from the recipient of the *cartaz*. Every *cartaz* specified the capacity of the vessel for which it was issued. This information is of importance to those who wish to study the ship-building activities in India in the last few centuries.

The *cartaz* usually mentioned the name of the vessel, its owner, his native place, the persons on board, and the defence personnel and equipment aboard. It also specified the ports to which the vessel was allowed to go and those to which she was forbidden to sail. Besides, it enumerated the articles which she was prohibited to carry. She was made subject to confiscation if any of the provisions of the *cartaz* were violated. In fact, one comes across many cases of confiscation by the Portuguese in the 16th century and thereafter until their power was completely curbed in the 19th century.

Cartazes were issued either at Goa, headquarters of Portuguese India, or at any other Portuguese fort or factory along the coasts of India, depending upon the intended destination of the vessel. A vessel going across the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal had to secure its *cartaz* at Goa. *Cartazes* issued at a Portuguese fort or factory were sufficient for vessels navigating along the coasts of India. Such *cartazes* were compulsory even for those vessels which sailed to Goa from any other port of India with a view to obtain *cartazes* for voyages abroad.[4]

The Portuguese maintained the fiction of their over-lordship over the seas even after the 16th century when their power was challenged by their European rivals, particularly the Dutch and the English. To be sure, they could not lord it over the Europeans. However, they continued to attempt to dominate the native sea-trade until the beginnings of the 19th century. Of course, they were not always successful. Powerful native chiefs rarely obeyed them.

4. Biker, J. F. J., *Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes*, vol. IV, p. 208.

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APPENDIX

(A specimen cartaz: Portuguese original)

Cartaz a Abdula

Manoel de Saldanha etc. Faço saber aos que este Cartaz virem que tendo atenção a Abdula mouro morador em Mascate haver mandado pedir Cartaz p.ª huma Terrada invocada Salamu Sovāy deq hé senhorio Caliani Mulgi, e de porte de cem candins de Surrate e p' lhe fazer honra e mercé por esta vez somente. Hey p bem de conceder Licença e seguro a dita Terrada q' leva p.ª a sua lotação dous cananes, dezanove marinheiros, duas ancoras de ferro, e duas de pedra e p.ª a sua defença seis sipais, tres pessas de Artilheria e seis espingardas, p.ª poder navegar a q.es quer Portos dos am.os deste Estado neste verão, e não hirá a Porto algum dos Principes ou dos Levantados com quem o Estado estiver em guerra, nem poderá levar, nem trazer Turcos, Abexins, e Rumes, nem carregará ferro, asso, inxofre, salitre, cobre, madeira e bambas machos, nem poderá levar Portuguez, nem trará cavalos sem minha Licença, e só se lhe permite poder lever escravos, e escravas somente de sua nasção, e havendo suspeita ou informação, que algum delles hé Christão, ou filho de Christão, se fará com elle o exame declarado no Consilio Provincial, ainda que os taes filhos não sejão baptizados, e fazendo o contrario, não valerá este Cartaz, e hindo aos Portos prohibidos e trazendo fazenda vedada, e sendo a dita Terrada de lotação, e porte de mais de cem candins será reprezada p.ª a faz.ª Real, e pagou de direitos da entrada e sahida desta Cidade vinte x.s dos ditos cem candins de carga, e não das fazendas. Notefico-o assim aos Generaes, e Cap.es mores, mais Cap.es a pessoas a q' pertencer assim o cumprão, e guardem, e deixē fazer viagem a dita Terrada da hida e volta sem impedimento algum, e passado hum anno não valerá este Cartaz, q' hé o terceiro q' se passou neste verão, e será selado com o Sello das Armas Reaes da Coroa de Portugal. Nicolao Francisco de Sá o fez em Goa a sinco de Dezembro de 1764 o Secretario B.or Sozé Vas de Carvalho o fez escrever. Conde da Ega.

— Livro de Cartazes, I, 1704–1766, fls. 206–7.

(TRANSLATION)

Cartaz to Abdulla

Manoel de Saldanha etc.ª I make it known to those who may see this Cartaz that Abdulla, Muslim resident of Maskat has sought

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for this time only the honour and favour of a Cartaz for a galley named Salamu Sovay, owned by Caliani Mulji, and of the capacity of one hundred *khandis* of Surat. I resolve to grant the licence and security to the said galley to enable her to navigate during this summer to any of the ports of the friends of this State. She carries on board by allocation two men of small stature,[b] nineteen mariners, two anchors of iron and two of stone, and for her defence six soldiers, three pieces of artillery and six guns. She shall not go to the port of any of the princes or rebels with whom the State is at war. She shall not carry or bring Turks, Abyssinians and Egyptians. She shall not take on board iron, albino, sulphur, saltpetre, copper, wood and thick canes of bamboo. She shall not have any Portuguese on board. She shall not bring horses without my licence. Abdulla is permitted to take male and female slaves of his country only. If there is suspicion or information that any of them is a Christian or son of a Christian, an examination shall be held in accordance with the resolution of the Provincial Council, even though such sons are not baptized. This Cartaz shall not be valid if anything is done contrary to its provisions. The galley shall be confiscated to the Royal property if she goes to the forbidden ports or brings the prohibited goods or her capacity is more than one hundred *khandis*. Abdulla has paid twenty *ashrafis* as the duties of the entrance to and the exit from this City on account of the said (capacity of) one hundred *khandis* of cargo, and not of the goods (actually on board). I notify that the Generals, Captain-majors, Captains and other persons, to whomsoever it may concern, shall fulfil and guarantee this (Cartaz), and allow the said galley to perform a return voyage without any impediment. This Cartaz shall cease to be valid on the expiry of one year. This is the third (Cartaz) to be issued this summer. It shall be sealed with the Royal Seal of Arms of the Crown of Portugal. Nicolau Francisco de Sá prepared this at Goa on the fifth of December, 1764. Baltazar Sozé Vas de Carvalho, Secretary, wrote it out Count of Ega.

The Book of Cartazes, I, 1704–1766, folios 206-7.

(a) Count of Ega, of the Council of His Majesty, Viceroy and Captain General of India.

(b) The word *canane* literally means persons of small stature. However, I am not quite sure of the meaning in the present context.

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A Note on the Gudnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman

BY

G. S. Gai

A brief note about the importance and contents of this inscription was published by me in the *Hindu* dated 3-6-1971. Recently, the record has been edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal in the Felicitation Volume of Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri called *Śrîkaṇṭhikā*, pp. 61 ff. with facsimiles. But the facsimiles are not quite satisfactory so that it is not possible to verify the readings of the published text, accompanying his article. While discussing the contents of the epigraph, Dr. Gopal states that the object of the inscription was to register some grants made for the worship and maintenance of Kāma-Jinālaya and that this Kāma-Jinālaya stands for the temple of Bāhubali since the Jaina Gommaṭēśvara Bāhubali was also known as Kāma or Manmatha.[1] This statement is based on his reading of the passage in line 17 of the text as *Ath=āsya Kāma-Jinālayasya pūjā-saṁskār-ārtham=asau Mahārāja-śrī-Ravivarmmā*, etc. We are sorry that we do not agree with the reading and interpretation of the passage in question as given by Dr. Gopal. The letter which has been read as *ji* in *Kāma-Jinālaya* should be read as a defectively engraved *dē* with an unnecessary *ā mātrā* as well as an *i mātrā*.[2] The engraver of this record, though he is entitled to our appreciation in carrying out his job quite satisfactorily has, nonetheless, committed a few mistakes. Thus, in lines 19 and 22, while writing the word *brahmadēya*, he has added an unnecessary *ā* sign to the letter *dē* so that it looks like *dō* and also unnecessary *u* and *i* signs to the letter *v* with the result that one can't really read this letter. Similarly, the engraver has committed a mistake in carving the letter *dē* in *Kāmadēvālaya*, by adding unnecessarily *ā* and *i mātrās*. We can also notice the box-

1. Cf. *Śrīkaṇṭhikā*, pp. 66-67.
2. Compare the accompanying facsimile.

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head (scooped out variety) in this letter which is a characteristic feature of the letters in this record. Therefore, this letter should be read as *dē* only. The next letter, which has been read as *nā* by Gopal is *vā* and not *nā*, though the joint at the base is not very clear. But, if we examine the reverse side of the impression, this joint can be seen. There is also a faint trace of the dent in this joining stroke, showing thereby that the letter is *v* only. In the formation of the letter *n* in this epigraph, we find that a sharp hook is formed to the left of the right hand stroke while in the case of *v* this hook has a broader shape. For example, we may compare the letters *n* in *anēna nayan-abhirāma* occurring in the previous line i.e. line 16.[3] Therefore, the two letters in this expression have to be read as *dēvā* and not *jinā* so that the word is Kāmadēvālaya and not Kāma-Jinālaya as has been read by the editor of the record. In our brief note published in the *Hindu* referred to above, we have stated that the epigraph refers to the construction of the temple of the God of Love and to the donation made to this temple, reading the concerned expression as Kāmadēvālaya only. There is absolutely no indication anywhere else in the record that the temple constructed by Ravivarman was a Jaina one. In line 26 also, the temple is referred to as Kāmadēvālaya only (cf. *Kāma-dēvālayasya pūjā-saṁskār-ārthaṁ*, etc.). Thus, the expressions *veśma-Manmathasy=ēdaṁ* (line 12), *Chitta-janmanō lōka-nayan-āravind-ōtsavō* (line 14), *bhagavatō Madanasya niryyāṇē* (line 15) and *Chētō-bhavasya gṛhaṁ* (line 16) occurring in the epigraph refer to Kāma or God of Love and not to Bāhubali, as thought of by the editor of the inscription.

3. Cf. the accompanying facsimile.

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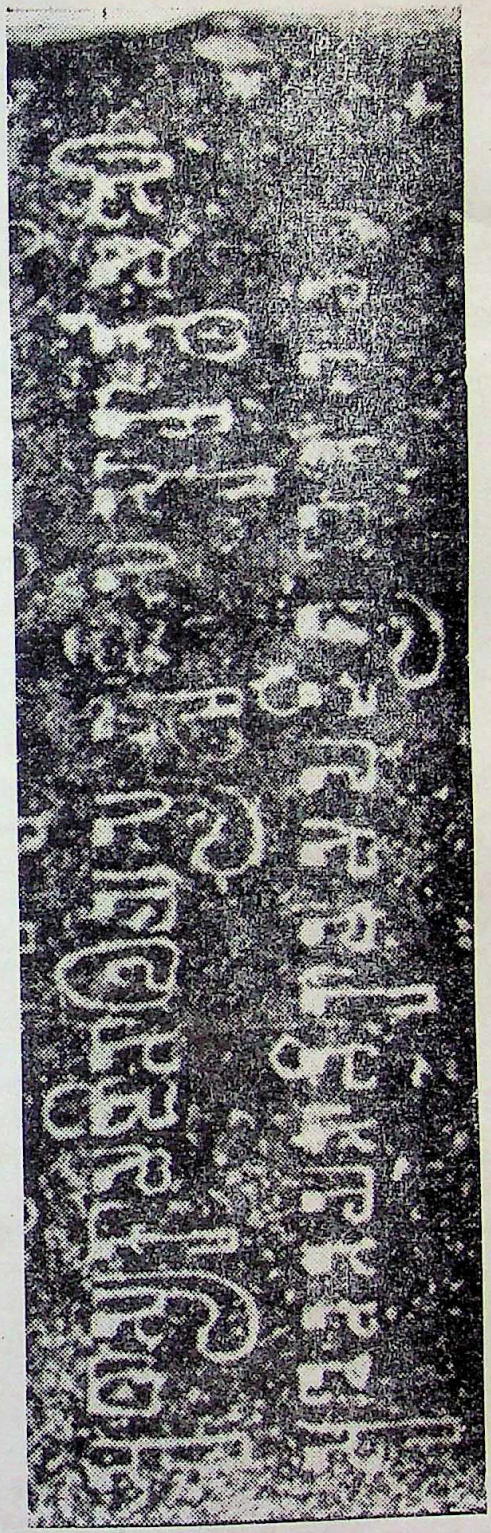

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Content-Analysis of the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions

BY

N. Subrahmanian & R. Rajalaksmi

The source material for the history of the Tamils for the early centuries of the Christian era is mainly literary consisting of a local literature and some statements emanating from foreign observers. This is supplemented to some extent by statements in non-Tamil literature as well as later references in medieval epigraphy and literature. Now much of this information is helpful to enlighten areas of social life rather than to construct political geneologies or to provide us with a framework of chronology. All this has been worked up and a mass of disjointed material dug out of the sources. Plausible social histories and passable political stories have been patched up and this is what the history of the Śaṅgam age is, so far as we can manage to create one from the aforesaid sources. This has been largely the work of the historian no doubt assisted by the labours of the literary man.

The archaeologist however is not satisfied with this performance or achievement. Material remains either dumb or vocal alone satisfy him. Certain remains like the megalithic stone implements, funerary furniture, skeletal remains and so on are made to yield not conclusions but inferences based on comparative study. Epigraphs like lithic inscriptions no doubt speak but what do they convey? Much has been made of what they convey; and enthusiastic archaeologists, one is afraid, read more than what their sources say.

There are just two kinds of epigraphs for the history of the Tamils of that period: 1. Those that are situated outside the Tamil country like Aśoka's edicts, Khāravela's inscription and the Pallava copper plate grants of the earlier period and 2. Inscriptions found within the Tamil country. Leaving for the moment the former aside and considering only the latter we shall be left with nearly eighty epigraphic pieces which are collectively called the Tamil-

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Brāhmi inscriptions. It shall be our endeavour in this paper to content-analyse these pieces.

On rocks and on potsherds we have a number of inscriptions—some running to three or four lines, some just half a broken line, some constituting complete sentences, some making no sense at all but just indicating a syllable here or there. In them we have a certain quantum of information which we shall try to determine and see what precisely is the historical value of these bits of epigraphy. This kind of 'Content-analysis' is necessary to place history and archaeology in their due places which is an urgent need today.

We take for consideration in this paper 78 Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions of which 76 were discovered in the natural caverns in certain parts of Tamilnad and 2 found on potsherds discovered in Alagairai and Uṟaiyūr. We are however leaving the Arikamēḍu potsherds out of consideration now.

The historical information we cull from the inscriptions are got in two ways: 1. inferential and 2. direct. We shall take up the former first.

In the first place we know from this source that there were rocks which were cut into beds on which some people knew to inscribe, that there were pots which however have become sherds now on which also it was a habit to inscribe: Probably—since we are dealing with inferences now—those two media were chosen for inscription since even as exposed materials rock and the writing on it would endure and buried pottery saved from exposure to sun and rain would endure. These writings indicate that the society to which the scribes belonged was literate. Those people must have known and used whatever material they put into these pots in the context of pottery. The use of this particular script has generated important questions and attracted feeble answers. It has been asked, for instance, why the Brāhmi script should be used to write the Tamil language in the Tamil country. Three answers have been given: 1. That Brāhmi was the only script that ancient India knew whether it was indigenous or not. This script when used in the Tamil country was modified to accommodate special Tamil phonetic sounds like ḷ and ṟ. 2. That the Tamils had a script of their own, independent of Brāhmi, and when the immigrant

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Brāhmi-users tried to write Tamil in the script they were accustomed to, they borrowed the letters which were special to Tamil. Thus we have a modified Brāhmi which has been called Tamil Brāhmi, i.e., an enlarged Brāhmi script used to write the Tamil language. 3. That the two major linguistic areas in India viz., the Sanskritic and the Tamil borrowed the same script from the same area outside India, viz., either Sumeria or Phoenicia and that each linguistic group modified it to suit the genius of its own language. This is perhaps nearest to the truth. There is another doubt and that relates to the authorship of these inscriptions. It has been held till recently that Jaina ascetics settling down in natural caverns in Tamilnad and enjoying the munificence of local chieftains and the hospitality of the Tamil society were the authors of these brief writings. But was it natural that these inscriptions were written by the donees and not the donors and if the donors wrote them and if they were intended to mean something to the general public would it not be in order for the script to be a local script? If the inscriptions were intended to convey some meaning to the donees is it not more probable that the language too was that of the donees and not the regional language. These questions have not been answered satisfactorily nor can they be. One thing at least is certain and this is outside the range of inferences, that some of the inscriptions at least refer to matters not necessarily of interest to Jaina ascetics. The heavy concentration of these lithic inscriptions in and around Madurai can either mean that the Pāṇḍyan king was particularly hospitable or that there were most suitable natural caverns around Madurai. It is an undoubted inference that donations to ascetics and recording of minor secular transactions were occasional phenomena in that society. If epigraphic recording was a more common practice we should have had a larger number of epigraphs. As for potsherds the spade of the archaeologist has not dug up the last inscribed potsherd; many more evidently await excavation.

Let us now turn to direct information from these two sources

I. 1. The Māṅguḷam first inscription: 'This is a dedication to Kaṇiyan Nanda the monk (Āśiriyika). This monastery (Paḷḷi) was caused to be given by Kaḍalanvaḷudi a servant of Neḍumseḷiyan. 2. Dedication to Kaṇiyan Nanda, monk. This monastery was made by Sadikan father of Iḷansadikan brother-in-law (?).

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of Neḍumseḷiyan. 3. Dedication to Kaṇiyan Na(n)da, the monk the son of Kāḷitika Andai a Kāvidi (a merchant) of the Nigamam or the merchant guild of Velarai caused this lattice to be given. 4. Kaṇiyan Natan was the giver (of this). 5. Chandaridan was the person who caused this to be given. 6. The merchant guild of Velarai were the givers of this.

We know from the above six epigraphic pieces the following facts: 1. There were Jaina monks (Jaina because of the use of the word Kaṇiyan) and one of them bore the name Nanda. 2. They lived in places called Paḷḷi. 3. Sons and fathers bore the same name, the former distinguished from the latter by the addition of the prefix ḷḷam. 4. Sadikan, Kālidika and a Chandaritan were some of the proper names of those times. 5. There were merchant guilds called Nigama (but for Heaven's sake let us not call them chambers of commerce). 6. Merchants bore the title Kāvidi. 7. A monk was called an āśiriyaka. The word āśiriyaka literally means one who attached himself to or sought refuge in a superior and did not mean what one would be tempted to call a teacher, an ācārya. So the Tamil word asiriyar perhaps does not mean a teacher but only one in whom another takes refuge. 8. A lattice—either a window or a door could be an object of donation. 9. Vellaraj was a commercial centre. 10. The two names Kaḍalan Vaḻudi and Neḍumseḷiyan were—Paṇḍyan family names; but what is interesting is that the former is indicated as the latter's servant or officer and this shows that royal servants bore their master's titles. 11. The dedication was deemed an act of charity as it was called dharma; the use of the word 'dhamma' instead of dharma indicates Pāli influence. 12. The name Kālidikai Andai perhaps means Kālidikan, the father. The phrase stands as the son of Kālidikan Andai; the use of Andai in this context indicates a curious practice of nomenclature. That is, the reference is to the father as well as to the son in the same context. It is not certain if Andai means father or avandandai 'his father'.

II. *Tiruvādavūr* 1st inscription: This was caused to be given by Aritan of Pangāḍu. 2. Paraśu, an upāsaka i.e., a lay devotee caused this abode (உறை) to be given.

Here we have the proper names Aritan, Paraśu. Aritan perhaps ought to be Āritan. We know of Aiyan Āritanān, author of Puṟapporuḷ Veṇbāmāḷai. Again Ūṟai in the inscription is evi-

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dently a devil for Uṟai. This shows, if any showing is needed, that the inscribers were not very literate though they might have been using manuscripts.

III. *Keeḷavaḷavu*: Ilavan — a lay devotee from Toṇḍi gave this paḷḷi. Toṇḍi an eastern port seems to have been infested with Jainas. Lay devotees seem to have shown their devotion by donating monasteries.

IV. *Koṅgarpuḷiṅkuḷam*: 1. Upparuvan, a lay devotee caused this canopy to be given. Canopy seems to have been provided separately for walled structures. 2. I, Śeruttan (Śēran Ātan (?)) plaited the fronds for the canopy. 3. Pērātan piṭṭan of Pāhanūr caused this canopy to be thatched.

From the above we see that there were canopies which had fronds, which needed plaiting and the man who did it sought advertisement. Canopies were thatched and it was perhaps an accident that the plaiter of the fronds and the 'thatcher' of the canopy were both called Ātan.

V. *Vikramaṅgalam*: 1. The son of Āndaipikan made this gift (dāna). 2. Kuviran of Pētalai. 3. Śeṅguviran. 4. Kuvirātan. 5. The gift of Śātan of our village

Pikan, Kuviran, Seṅkuviran, Kuvirātan and Sātan were proper names. Was Kuviran a corruption of Kubēran?

VI. *Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi*: 1. Andaiāriti. 2. Andai Iravātan. 3. Andaiviswan of Matirai. 4. Andaisenda made this gift. 5. Sandandai Sandan. 6. Andai of Patinūr. 7. Kuviran Andai made this gift. 8. Kuviran Andai a vēḷ made this gift. 9. A gift of the residents of Tiṭṭil.

Āriti ḷike Āritan, Iravātan, Viśuvan, Śēdan (this must be the form of Senda) and Sandan, must have been personal names; Sandandai was perhaps Sandandandai.

Padinūr and Tiṭṭil were the names of places; and Matirai was a common epigraphic error for Madurai. Here we get personal and place names and mention of the fact of gift.

VII. *Sittannavāśal*: Bed or seat made by the Iḷaiyan of Śirupāvil for Kāvuti Iṭen born at Kumuḷūr of Erumaināḍu. There was a territorial unit—Erumaināḍu; a town Kumuṭūr. Sirupāvil

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was another name of a place. Kāvuti Iten—a rather curious personal name and for such a person a bed or a seat was provided by the youth of Sirupāvil. This bed or seat is called Adiṭṭānam.

VIII. *Karuṅgālakkuḍi*: Ilaiyūr had a monastery where Āriti resided. Pāḷi is monastery.

IX. *Maruṣkaltalai*: A rock bed caused to be given by Kāsipan a vēḷ. The epigraphic form of vēḷ, it may be noted, is vēṇ here though grammar does not require it to be so. Vēḷ also was known to them as can be seen in one of the epigraphs from Mettupatti. Kanchanam is the word for a bed and the donation is a kalkanchanam i.e. a rock bed.

X. *Alagarmalai*: 1. A gift by Ātan a goldsmith of Madurai; note that the form for Madurai is Madirai and a goldsmith was a Ponkolavan which can be compared with the form Poṛkollan. The word tāna need not be construed as dāna i.e., gift. It could be more easily sthāna i.e., 'place' making the inscription say that it was the goldsmith Ātan's place. 2. Is too fragmentary for comment. 3. Kani-nakan and Kaninatan — children of Iravi. Kaṇi in both cases a professional prefix meaning astrologer or wiseman. Nakan and Natan then are the proper names. Natan as a name occurs in Māṅguḷam. 4. So there is no need to introduce the letter 'n' and make Natan into Nandan. For 'children' the word is Makaḷ and not Makkaḷ as it ought to be. These and numerous other instances will show that the scribes had poor schooling and could commit scriptal errors. It will follow that any generalisation regarding ancient grammar or syntax on the basis of these epigraphs would be risky. 4. Is a fragment making little meaning. 5. Viyakan Kanatikan, a salt merchant. Here Uppu vāṇikan is salt merchant. Uppu figures as uppu which again must have been a scriptal error. 6. Gift (?) made by Ātan son of Kanaka Ātan. Here Ātan is the personal name quite common in the Saṅgam age. 7. Mentions the name Sāpamita as the name of a nun. 8. Nedumalan—a sugar merchant, Pānita vāṇikan being a sugar merchant. 9. Elasandan a trader in ploughshares. Koḷu means the iron tip of a ploughshare. 10. Records a gift by Kaḷumāran. The second part of that name is suggestive of Pāṇḍyan lineage. 11. He who caused to be given this dripledge; (but does 'Tāra aṇi' mean dripledge, though Mr. I. Mahadevan thinks so?) It is interesting to note that the word Koḍuppittavan (கொடுப்பித்தவன்) was written then as

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Koḍuppitta-van. 12. Of Kāśapan the monk. 13. All of them caused to be given. Here it may be noted that 'all of them is indicated by the word avarūm (அவரும்) which is clearly an error for avarum (அவரும்). All these errors show that this scriptal pattern does not mean any stage in linguistic or literary evolution of Tamil and that except in certain important cases any comparative study based on these epigraphs and the Tolkāppiam will take us nowhere. 14. Eḷa a Ātan, a textile dealer of Vēṇpal. The word Eḷa ought to have been Iḷa meaning the junior. We have thus Neḍum, Iḷa, Pēr (vide. Pērātan IV, 3), apart from Iḷaiyar and Iḷavan as names in themsmelves. 15. Tiyan Sandan which is obviously a male personal name.

XI. *Varicciyūr*: 1. The Paḷḷi caused to be given by ..... 2. A rather damaged epigraph mention Nūṛukacana which has been made to mean a hundred (rock) beds. 3. Four beds or seats made by Natan or Natar. Irukkai is more properly a seat but the rock beds could be used as seats too.

XII. *Tirupparankunram*: 1. Anduvan was the person who caused this to be given. Anduvan is a typical Śaṅgam name. 2. Is a fragment. 3. Also a fragment, mentions Mārāyattu, though the second letter is only 'ra'; mārāyam we know was a title borne by official dignitaries even in the Śaṅgam age. 4. Polālayan of Erukkāṭṭu a householder from Ceylon did this (signed) Ay, Sayan, Neḍsāttan; Erukkāṭṭūr is a famous Śaṅgam toponym. Iḷam is Ceylon. Āy and Sāttan are familiar Śaṅgam names.

XIII. *Muttuppaṭṭi*: 1. Kāvi of Saiyalan of Vindaiyūr. How is kāvi turning cavern? Saiyalan is certainly not Ceylon. Kāvi seems to be an abridged form of Kāvidi. Saiyalan also is a personal name. 2. The son of Atai Sāttan of Nāgappērūr, Atai should have been Andai. Here Andai could not have been Avan tandai nor even merely father, but is probably in itself a proper name, though perhaps unusual. 3. Too fragmentary.

XIV. *Ānaimalai*: These ..... gift ..... Nātan ..... the dormitory of Kuṇrattūr ..... Ēri Avitan, Attuvāyi, Araṭṭa kāyipan the last three names are perhaps signatures of the makers of the dormitory; Kuṇrattūr is a Śaṅgam toponym. Iva the word used in the epigraph must be Ivai meaning 'these.' Here again a colloquialism is preferred to the literary form.

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XV. *Pugaḷūr*: 1. The abode of Seṅkāyapaṉ Jaina monk hailing from Yāṟṟūr; stone cut by Iḷaṅkaḍuṅgō son of Perum kaḍuṅgōn son of king Ātaṉ Śel Irumporai on becoming their apparent. 2. Practically a re-production of XV:1, with the difference that Iḷaṉ Kaḍuṅgō is preceded by the word Kaḍuṅgōn which only means Iḷaṉ Kaḍuṅgō son of Kaḍuṅgōn. This is about the most important and informative of the Tamil Brāhmi rock cut inscriptions. This gives a geneology, in addition to providing information about a stone abode which was provided by some 'royal' philanthropists to a monk. The word Amaṇaṉ stands for Jaina, meaning Samana from Śramaṇa. Kāyapan a corruption of Kāśipan and Sen Kāyapan were perhaps typical monkish names. Uṟai means abode; Iḷaṅkō co-king; making a rock bed is indicated by the significant phrase, 'Aṟutta Kal' i.e., stone cut.

Now with regard to the geneology: who are these three people i.e., Iḷaṉ Kaḍuṅgō, Perun Kaḍuṅgōn and Ātaṉ Śel Irumpoṟai? Mr. Mahadevan treats them as three successive rulers of the Cēra Irumpoṟai family exactly corresponding to the Paḍiṟṟuppattu geneology viz., 1. Selva Kaḍuṅgō Vāḻiyātaṉ. 2. Perumśēral Irumpoṟai and 3. Iḷamsēral Irumpoṟai. These two lists agree only in so far as both relate to Irumpoṟai families, the first king's name is Ātaṉ and the 2nd and 3rd ones Perum and Iḷam respectively. We would prefer to be more conservative and wait till the equation can be further clinched. It is no doubt true that names mentioned in the Paḍiṟṟuppattu are also found in the Tamil Brāhmi inscriptions and to that extent the two sources have been further proved to belong to the same age. These inscriptions show that on occasion of the nomination of an heir-apparent charities were instituted. 3. Mention two kings—Kīran and Koṟṟan sons of Piṭṭandai of Nalliyūr. But the inscription merely says: Nalliyūra Makaḷ Kīran Koṟṟa. It is to be noted here also as in X:3. Makaḷ is used for Makkaḷ. 4. Monastery caused to be made by Kiran and Ōri. The young sons of Piṭṭaṉ of Nalliyūr. Is this Piṭṭaṉ of Nalliyūr the same as the one mentioned in XV:3? Kurumakkaḷ is a new expression made to mean the younger sons by Mr. Mahadevan. One does not really know who Kurumakkaḷ are. It is more probable that the word merely means young sons. 5. Bed of Śeṅgāyapan of Yāṟṟūr. The fragmentary.....ttāṉṉaṉ must be the later part of Aḍiṭṭāṉṉam meaning a bed or a seat. 6. & 7. Also mention Aḍiṭṭāṉṉam but

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nothing else. 8. The bed of Vēni Ātan a merchant.....Vaṇṇikan is curiously enough the form adopted for merchant. Vaṇikan or Vānikan is the usual form. 9. Is too fragmentary. 10. 'Koṟṟandai (I) ḷavan mūṇṟu' is also fragmentary but is interesting for the use of the word Koṟṟandai which means Korran Tandai. 11. Bed of Atti—a gold merchant from Karūr. Pon vāṇikan is gold merchant; Kolavan in X:1 is different from Ponvāṇikan in XV:11, the former meaning the goldsmith and the latter a gold merchant. The form Karu ūr for Karūr is suggestive, since in ancient and medieval Tamil கருஆர் is the form for கரூர். 12. Iḷankīran son of Nāgan.

XVI. *Tiruccirappaḷḷi*: 1. merely mentions the name Seṅkāyapan.

XVII. *Kunnakkuḍi*: 1. simply mentions the name Ātan Sāttan 2. is fragmentary.

XVIII. *Mamaṇḍūr*: 1. This is the hill of Kaṇimān conqueror of Tēnūr. This was made by the stone mason..... The word Tanda for 'conquered' is interesting; but Taccan for stone mason is intriguing; now Taccan is only carpenter.

XIX. *Araccalūr*: 1. Tēvan Sāttan, a lapidary dealing in precious stones caused to be made these seven beds. 'Paṇṇuvittān' for 'caused to be made' is good Tamil. 2. is a symmetrical arrangement of five letters in each line made up of the three letters Ta, Ti and Te. It is suspected that these letters stand for dance beats even as in the Kudumiamalai inscription we have certain letters representing musical notes. 3. is similar to 2.

XX. *Piḷḷiyārpaṭṭi*: Peruparaṇan chieftain of Erukkāṭṭūr. Peru is like Neḍum and Iḷa. Paraṇan as well as Erukkāṭṭūr are quite Śaṅgam names.

XXI. This is the place of penance of Candiranandi, the monk who observed 57 days of fasting. We do not know if Candranandi died on the 58th day.

Apart from these we shall consider two potsherd inscriptions, part of the finds from Alagairai and Uṟaiyūr. The potsherd from Alagairai has the word kūttan on it. The Uṟaiyūr potsherd has but a fragment yielding nothing sensible. Kūttan however is a dancer generally but could be the name of a person, whether that person bore the name of a deity is uncertain, since it is not

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beyond doubt if Naṭarāja concept was familiar to the people who made these inscriptions.

The above mentioned Brāhmi inscriptions are a fair representative collection of Brāhmi epigraphs of the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tamil country. The Arikkamēḍu finds bearing Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions and certain numismatic Tamil-Brāhmi legends are not brought within our purview here.

A close analysis of the contents of these epigraphs will definitively limit the range of extra knowledge provided by them. Incidentally we will know whether we are or are not exaggerating the importance of such source material. It is deemed fashionable to sneer at literary sources and to consider them worth considering only if they are corroborated by archaeological sources. It has been our experience that literary references do get corroborated more often than not by non-literary sources. This is true at least so far as the Śaṅgam age is concerned. It was not long ago that some senior scholars profoundly distrusted the Śaṅgam literary period; but corroborations which later day epigraphy have provided, has changed this attitude from contempt to tolerance; but the value of the Tamil Brāhmi epigraphic source can be decided only when we imagine the total absence of all other sources and try to see if anything like the history of the Śaṅgam age, political or social, would be then possible. A discreet 'No' can be the only answer.

These inscriptions speak of donations of rock-beds or seats for the benefit of ascetics mostly Jaina made by all kinds of people, kings, merchants etc. Merchant communities, manufacturers of and traders in various commodities get frequent mention. Hardware merchants, goldsmiths, stone masons, textile dealers, lapidaries, gem cutters, sugar merchants, salt dealers, dancers, are about some of the professionals who can very well make up a community of traders, though not a chamber of commerce (?). The merchants indulged in charity as they had good reason to and have done so from time immemorial. The contact between Ceylon and South India is dimly indicated. Kings, princes, their nomination, royal charity on important occasions, royal conquests of neighbouring territories, Jaina monks fasting (unto death), royal officers bearing their overlord's titles, merchants bearing the Kāvidi title, the existence of merchant guilds; the mention of

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important cities like Karūr and Madurai; the provision of parts of a structure like a roof a canopy and dripledge; the institutions of monks, nuns and lay disciples, monasteries, caverns, rock-beds and seats. This is all what we know from these epigraphs. Their value if judged by their content should be deemed very little. The real worth of these inscriptions consists in the knowledge we get about the palaeography of the times and certain colloquial usages. It is suggested that in relative evaluations of these source material a sense of proportion should be maintained and mere novelty shall not be made to stand for substantial knowledge.

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Are the Caves at Dharasiva Buddhist or Jaina?

BY

V. V. MIRASHI

Dhārāśiva is an old town about 37 miles north of Sholapur in the Marathwada Division of Maharashtra. Some years ago its name was changed to Osmānābād by Osman Ali, a nawab of Hyderabad. It is now the chief town of the Osmānābād District of the Marathwada.

About two miles north-east from the town there are a few caves in a ravine facing the west, which have long been known to Archaeologists. They have been described by Burgess in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. III, pp. 4f. and in the *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 504 f. Burgess ascribed them to the Jaina religion. After describing the image in Cave II, he says, "The details of this image, and all the arrangements of this and the neighbouring caves, are so exactly like those of Buddha *Vihāras*, that any one who had not seen other Jaina caves of a similar sort, might easily be led to suppose that these were Bauddha excavations. But a careful study of the Buddha and Jaina groups at Elura suffices to show that these are cave-temples of the Digambara or naked Jains, and perhaps among their earlier attempts at such works, when they began by imitating the Buddhist excavations."[1] Recently Dr. M. K. Dhavalikar has attempted to show that they belong to the Baudhha and not to the Jaina religion.[2] It is proposed to examine this question in the present article.

My attention was drawn to this problem as I was studying recently the history of the Śilāhāras who were ruling over North and South Koṅkaṇ and the Kolhapur region from the ninth to the thirteenth century A.D.; for these kings proudly mention their *biruda Tagara-pura-parameśvara* (the lord of the city of Tagara)

1. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, (*A.S.W.I.*), Vol. III, p. 7.

2. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (*J.A.S.Bom.*), (New Series), Vols. XIX-XX, 183 f.; *J.I.H.*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 405 f.

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in their inscriptions. In accordance with the interpretation of similar expressions such as *Ujjayinī-puravar-ādhīśvara, Kālañ-jara-puravar-ādhīśvara* etc. this *biruda* must be taken to mean that they originally hailed from the city of Tagara, and not that they were then ruling at Tagara. Tagara was a flourishing city in the early centuries of the Christian era. Mercantile articles from several southern places such as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Viṇukoṇḍa and Veṅgī were first taken to Tagara and then transported *via* Paiṭhaṇ and Nāsik to Ujjayinī in the north or to Broach in the north-west. Tagara has been mentioned as a famous emporium in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[3] as well as by Ptolemy.[4] Like the ancient cities of Ujjaiyinī, Tripurī and Kauśāmbī, Tagara also had coins struck in its name. One such tiny coin of the first or second century A.D. has recently been discovered in Marathwada.[5]

The location of Tagara was not certain for a long time. Being misled by the distance and bearing of the city from Broach and Paithan mentioned by the afore-mentioned Greek writers scholars have variously identified it. It was taken to be identical with Devagiri by Wilford, with Junnar by Bhagvanlal Indraji, with Darur in the Bhir District by R. G. Bhandarkar, with Tavangir, 12 miles north of Kanakagiri by V. K. Rajwade, and with Karavīra (Kolhāpur) by Fleet. Fleet ultimately suggested its identification with Ter in the Osmānābād District,[6] which has met with general acceptance. Ter is only about 10 miles north of the caves. It has remains of ancient Buddhist and Hindu temples. In the excavations recently made there by Mr. B. N. Chapekar several pieces of pottery, coins and terracotta figurines dating from the second century B.C. to the third centuy A.D. and thus belonging to the Sātavāhana period have come to notice.[7] Besides, some Sanskrit, Marathi and Kannada inscriptions dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth cenury A.D. have been found there. These antiquities support the identificaion of Tagara with Ter. Sanskrit *nagara* is changed to *ner* in course of time. See e.g. Pimpalner (from Pippalanagara) and Saṅgamner (from Saṅgamanagara). So

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 376.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
5. This coin will soon be published in *J.N.S.I.*
6. *J.R.A.S.* 1901. pp 537 f.
7. See his *Report on the Excavations at Ter.*

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PLATE II. Image in Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva

PLATE I. Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva
K marks the cell with a hole always filled with water.
N marks the cell containing a cistern

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Tagara seems to have been changed to *Ter*. Besides, the place is called Terapura or Terāpura in ancient Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa works as shown below.[8] So there is now no doubt about the identification of Tagara with Ter in the Osmānābād District.

As stated before, Ter lies about 12 miles north-east of Dhārāśiva. The caves of Dhārāśiva have been described in some Jaina works published during the last fifty years. In 1924 Dr. Hiralal Jain discovered a manuscript of the Apabhraṁśa work *Karakaṇḍacariu* in the Jain Bhāṇḍār at Kāranjā in Vidarbha. He edited it subsequently in the Karanja Jaina Series. Its author Kanakāmara tells us that the minister who patronised him diverted the mind of king Karṇa.[9] This king is probably identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who flourished in the period A.D. 1041–1073.[10] So the Apabhraṁśa work belongs to the eleventh cen. A.D. It gives the following story of king Karkaṇḍa:

Karkaṇḍa was the king of the country of Aṅga in North India. He ruled from Campā, modern Bhāgalpur. His dominion comprised almost the whole of Bhārata, but the rulers of the southern countries of Cōḷa, Chēra and Pāṇḍya did not acknowledge his suzerainty. So he started with a large army to subjugate them. On his way he encamped at Terāpura. There a local ruler named Śiva met him and told him about the wonderful cave-temple on the hill nearby. His curiosity being aroused, he visited the site. He saw the image of Pārśvanātha in the cave. He also noticed another image of the Tīrthaṅkara on the top of the hill. He brought it down and installed it in the cave. He then noticed a knob or protuberance (*granthi*) on the *siṁhāsana* of the original image in the cave.[11] Thinking that it was marring the beauty of the image, he called an artisan and asked him to chisel it off. The latter told him that the *granthi* was blocking a spring of water inside. If he chiselled it off, the stream of water would inundate

8. The *Bṛhatkathākośa* uses the expression *Ter-ākhya-nagara* (56, 352) and *Ter-ākhya-pura* (56, 390), which may indicate the name of the town to be *Tera* or *Terā*. But in 56, 396 Hariṣena uses *Tera-pattana*, which shows that the name intended was *Terā*, not *Tera*. The *Karakaṇḍacariu*, however, gives the name a *Terāpura* in 4.3.1.

9. *Karakaṇḍacariu*. 10 29,6.

10. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Introd., pp. xciii f.

11. *Karakaṇḍacariu*, 4.12.1. Dhavalikar has not noticed this account in the work. He thinks that it occurs only in the *Bṛhatkathākośa*.

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the whole cave. But the king insisted on getting the *granthi* chiselled off. As soon as it was done, a large stream of water gushed forth and filled the whole cave. The king felt distressed, but he was consoled by a heavenly being who came there from above. He gave him the following account of the cave:

In the southern Vedyardha[12] there ruled two Vidyādhara brothers named Nīla and Mahānīla. Having been ousted by their enemies, they fled to the south and established themselves at Tērānagara. They were converted to Jainism by a Muni. Thereafter, they got the cave excavated and installed the image of Pārśvanātha therein. As for the other image of Pārśvanātha found on the hill Karkaṇḍa was told that it had been brought there by two Vidyādharas from the Pudi hill in Kerala. While going through the air they noticed the cave. To see it they alighted on the hill, and keeping the image there, they went down to see the cave. When they came back, they found that their image could not be moved at all. So they left it there and went away.[13]

Karkaṇḍa got two more caves excavated on the hill. He then invaded Siṁhala and on his return from there he defeated the rulers Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍya and then went back to his own country.

The story of Karkaṇḍa occurs also in the Sanskrit work *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa. It is similar to that given above, differing from it in one or two particulars. According to it, the image of Pārśvanātha found on the hill-top had been brought from Laṅkā.[14]

The *Bṛhatkathakośa* was composed at Vardhamānapura in the Śaka year 853, Vikrama year 989 (A.D. 931–32).[15] So it is earlier than the Apabhraṁśa work *Karakaṇḍacariu*. In fact, the story in the latter appears to be based on Sanskrit version on the earlier work. The mention of Terapura in the *Bṛhatkathākośa*

12. This means in the country to the south of Kailāsa.

13. *Karkaṇḍacariu*, 5.8. 4 f.

14. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, 56, 397–98. Again, the *Karakaṇḍacariu* states that Karkaṇḍa excavated only two caves on the hill, while the *Bṛhatkathākośa* says that he excavated three.

15. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intro., p. 121.

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is the earliest reference to that city so far known in Sanskrit literature.

The caves mentioned in both these works are undoubtedly those on the hill near Dhārāśiva. There are at present six caves on that hill, of which four are excavated facing west, and two more in another part of the hill.[16] Of the former, Cave No. II is noteworthy, though now in a dilapidated condition. It resembles the Vihāra caves Nos. XVI and XVII of the Vākāṭaka age at Ajaṇṭā.[17] (*See Plate I*). The verandah in front of the cave measures 78 ft. in length and 10 ft. 4 inches in breadth. Its pillars, of which there were six or eight, have now fallen, bringing down the whole front except for a small fragment carved with the figures of the Jinas. The hall inside is 82 ft. in depth and from 79 to 85 ft. in width. It has 32 pillars arranged in two squares, one inside the other. The outer square has 20 pillars and the inner one 12 pillars. The pillars in front of the shine are round in shape with square bases and constricted cushion capitals, being decorated with horizontal bands of beads and festoons. There are twenty-two cells in the walls of the hall, 8 in each of the two side walls and 6 in the back wall, three being on each side of the shrine at the back. In the shrine, 19 ft. 3 inches wide, 15 ft. deep and 13 ft. high there is a large image of Pārśvanātha seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, with hands on the lap, the palms being turned up. On his *siṁhāsana* there appear two deer on each side of what appears to have originally been a wheel placed on its edge, but it has now almost completely disappeared. Over the head of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha there are spread seven hoods of a serpent, with a small crown on each of them. There is a Chawri-bearer and above a flying Gandharva on each side of the Tīrthaṅkara. (*See Plate II*).

It may be noted that in the floor of the cell in the north-west corner of the hall there is a hole which is always filled with water. It is probably connected with the cistern at the west end of the verandah in front of the hall.

A little to the east of this cave lies Cave No. III, somewhat smaller in size, but otherwise resembling it. There is a similar

16. *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 9 f.
17. *C.I.I.*, Vol. V, Introd., pp. lxvi f.

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figure of Pārśvanātha in the shrine, with the wheel on the *simhāsana* quite clear in front. No deer are, however, noticeable on the two sides of it. It is not known if they were carved before. There are four other caves excavated in the hill, but we need not notice them here as they are not relevant to the present discussion.

These caves have been described as of the Jaina religion in the Sanskrit work *Bṛhatkathākośa* and the Apabhraṁśa work *Karakaṇḍacariu*. I have cited above the opinion of James Burgess, who has described them fully in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. III, and rather briefly in the *Cave-Temples of India*. He also ascribes them to the Jaina religion. But recently Dr. Dhavalikar has put forward the view that they are Buddhist. He has advanced the following arguments in support of it:—

(1) Stylistically these caves resemble the Mahāyana Bauddha caves of the Vākāṭaka age, which were carved towards the end of the sixth century A.D. On the other hand, they differ from the Jaina caves at Ellora.

(2) In the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. to which these caves belong, Buddhism, not Jainism, was flourishing in the northern Deccan. It was only in the 9th century A.D. that Jainism flourished there when it received royal patronage, more particularly under the Śilāhāras.

(3) Literary evidence furnished by the *Bṛhatkathākośa* and the *Karakaṇḍacariu* indicates that Cave No. II was Buddhist, not Jaina. Karkaṇḍa is said to have installed another image of Pārśvanātha in that Cave. Where was the need of installing a new image of Tirthaṅkara if there was one there already.[18] So it seems that Karkaṇḍa, after worshipping the image, realised that he had committed a mistake, since it was an image of the Buddha. But it was not easy — nay, it was impossible — to instal a new image in place of the old one, because the latter was carved out of the living rock. In fact, Karkaṇḍa did not instal a new image. He only removed the *dharma-cakra* carved in front of the *simhāsana*.

18. Karakaṇḍa may have installed it in the cell to the west of the verandah. For the image of Pārśvanātha found there see *A.S.W.I.*, Vol III, pl. III. fig. 2. This is a loose image.

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So we do not notice it now between the deer on the two sides. The version of the story of Karkaṇḍa in both the Jaina works supports this conjecture. It tells us that Karkaṇḍa got a knob (*granthi*) on the *siṁhāsana* of the Tīrthaṅkara image chiselled off. That knob was nothing else than a *dharmacakra* carved on the siṁhāsana. A similar *dharmacakra* is noticed on the *siṁhāsana* of the image in the adjoining Cave No. III. So both these images are of the Buddha.

(4) There is no doubt a seven-hooded *nāga* over the head of the image in Cave No. II, but representations showing *nāga*-hoods over the Buddha's head are not wanting in Buddhist art. In fact we have several representations of the Buddha in the *dhyāna-mudrā* with a seven-hooded serpent over his head discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[19]

(5) Karkaṇḍa seems to have got excavated the rock-cut court in front of the cave and also the frieze of Jaina images on the facet of the verandah. This is of a later age — probably of the 9th century A.D. He may also have got excavated caves Nos. V and VI in another part of the hill.[20]

Dr. Dhavalikar has, therefore, come to the conclusion that Caves Nos. II and III were originally Buddhist. Later, in the 9th or 10th Century A.D., they were converted into Jain Caves. We shall next proceed to examine his arguments to determine this matter.

(1) There is no doubt much similarity in the plans of the Mahāyāna caves (Nos. XVI and XVII) of the Vākaṭaka age at Ajaṇṭā and Caves II and III at Dhārāśiva. All of them have a verandah in front, a hall with cells on three sides behind it, a shrine at the further end, with an image on a *siṁhāsana* in it. But it would not proper to infer from these similarities that they are all of the same faith. We can only conclude on the basis of this similarity that they were excavated in the same age. The similarity may be due to the employment of the same artisans by the princes or wealthy persons of the time for getting the Caves excavated. As Dr. U. P. Shah has observed, 'no art is entirely

19. *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 54, pls XXIII (b); XXXI (b).
20. *J.A.S.Bom.*, Vols. 39-40, p. 188.

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Jaïn, Buddhist or Hindu. The same artists who worked for one sect, were employed also by other sects in any particular unit of time and space .... Do we not find identical art style in the Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu specimens of the Kushāṇa period obtained from Mathurā[21]."

Dr. Burgess has shown that Jaina images are noticed on the frieze of the verandah of Cave No. II. Dr. Dhavalikar also has admitted. We have no reason to suppose this frieze only was carved three or four centuries after the cave behind it was excavated. It must have been carved along with the cave in the same period.

(2) That Jainism was not flourishing in North Deccan or Maharashtra in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. when these caves were excavated is irrelevant in the present discussion; for Tagara where the caves are situated was formerly not included in Maharashtra, as it is now. It was Kannaḍa-speaking in those days. This is shown by *birudas* assumed by the Śilāhāra kings of Tagara who founded principalities in the Koṅkaṇ and Kolhāpur regions in the ninth and later centuries by the favour of their Rāshṭrakūṭa and Cālukya suzerains. See *e.g.*, the following *birudas*:[22] *Malagalaganḍa* (the hero among hillchiefs), *Gaṇḍaraganḍa* (the hero of heroes), *Gaṇḍaraṅgara* (gold among heroes), *Nannisamudra* (an ocean of truth), *Villaviḍeṅga* (clever in the use of the bow), *Pusiganjuvāta* (who is afraid of falsehood) etc. These are all Kannaḍa *birudas*. Though the Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇ ceased to assume such *birudas* in later times, being naturalized in the Marathi-speaking country, the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur continued to bear them to the last as appears clear from their inscriptions. Many of the records of these later Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur are in the Kannaḍa language.[23] So these rulers must originally have been Kannada-speaking in their home-town of Tagara. The history of Northern Deccan or Maharashtra will not be of any use in finding out whether Jainism was flourishing

21. *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 3.

22. See Janjirā plates of Aparājita, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, pp. 35 f.; Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 267 f. etc.

23. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 30f.

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in the country round Tagara. Unfortunately, we have no records from Tagara dating back to the sixth or seventh century A.D. But the jaina religion was undoubtedly prevalent in Karṇāṭaka in that period. It had the support of the Kadambas and Early Cālukyas who were ruling in that age. It is well-known that the Cālukya Emperor Pulakeśin II gave liberal patronage to the poet Ravikīrti who erected a Jaina temple at Aihole in the Bijāpur District.[24] Aihole is only about 150 miles as the crow flies south of Dhārāśiva. So it is not unlikely that Jainism was flourishing at Tagara in the sixth or seventh century A.D. According to Jain tradition, the Vidyādhara princes Nīla and Mahānīla were converted to Jainism and then they got these caves excavated. It is noteworthy that the Śilāhāras trace their descent from the Vidyādhara Jimūtavāhana. It is not known if they had adopted the Jaina faith when in Tagara, but it is not unlikely that the caves were excavated with their royal patronage and so in course of time they came to be associated with the Vidyādharas.

(3) Dr. Dhavalikar has drawn attention to the *dharmacakra* carved on the *simhāsana* of the image in Cave No. III in support of his view that it is of the Buddha. A similar *dharmacakra*, now mutilated, was also carved between two deer on either side of the image in Cave No. II. The *dharmacakra* is a characteristic symbol of the Buddha image. After worshipping the image in Cave No. II, Karkaṇḍa realised that he had committed a mistake. So he got the *dharmacakra* chiselled off in order to convert the image into that of a Jaina Tirthankara. The knob (*granthi*) which, according to both the above mentioned jain works, was caused to be removed by Karkaṇḍa was nothing else but this *dharmacakra*. So Dr. Dhavalikar takes this *cakra* placed edgewise on the *simhāsana* or pedestal of an image to the distinguishing mark of a Buddha image. We shall examine this argument at some length.

Gautama Buddha first preached his doctrine in the Deer Park at Sārnāth. This event is called *Dharmacakrapravartana* (Revolving of the Religious Wheel), and it is indicated by carving a deer on either side of a wheel placed edgewise on the pedestal or *simhāsana* of a Buddha image. This is no doubt a significant symbol of Buddhism. But it seems that it was adopted by the

24. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

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Jainas also in the beginning.[25] Caves Nos. II and III at Dhārāśiva are of this age. The Jainas also regard the wheel as a sacred symbol. Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* has the following narrative about it.

Once upon a time Ṛṣabhanātha, the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, went to Takṣaśilā. He reached the place in the evening. When Bāhubali, the ruler of the place, came to know of it, he thought of going next morning to have his *darśana*; but when he went there, he found that the Tīrthaṅkara had already left the place. Bāgubali felt disappointed. He consoled himself by erecting and worshipping a *cakra* there. This was the origin of the worship of the *cakra* in Jainism. Such a *cakra* of bronze fixed on a stick is preserved in the Patna Museum.[26]

The Jainas recognise twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. Their images are all alike, but they are distinguished by their cognisances carved on their *simhāsanas* or pedestals. In the Śaka and Kushāṇa periods these cognisances were not evolved. The images of the Tīrthaṅkaras had only the *dharmacakra* carved on their pedestals or *simhāsanas* and they were distinguished by their names incised on them. The cognisances were evolved later in the Gupta period.[27] Recently two images of the Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha and one of Puṣpadanta were discovered in the Vidiśā District of Madhya Pradesh. They have only the *dharmacakra* carved on the pedestal and are distinguished by the mention of their names in the inscriptions thereon. The cognisances are not carved on the two sides of their *Dharmacakra*.[28]

Later, these cognisances such as the bull in the case of Ṛṣabhanātha or Ādinātha, the deer of Śāntinātha, the conch of Neminātha, the snake of Pārśvanātha and the lion of Mahāvīra came into vogue. See, for instance, the image of Neminātha at Rājgir.[29] The identity of the Tīrthaṅkara is suggested by the *dharmacakra* with the Cakrapuruṣa standing in front and a conch placed on

25. Burgess also says that the caves at Dhārāśiva were imitated from the Buddhist caves.
26. *Studies in Jaina Art*, pl. VI, fig. 15.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.
28. *J.O.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 247 f.
29. *Studies in Jaina Art*, pl. VII, fig. 18.

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either side of it. Recently an image of a Tīrthaṅkara was discovered at Keedabrahma in North Gujarat. It has on its *simhāsana* a *cakra* placed edgewise with a deer on either side exactly as on the case of a Buddha image.[30] It has been identified as an image of Śāntinātha. There is a similar image of Śāntinātha in the Faizabad Museum.

The *Dharmacakra* was thus not a distinguishing characteristic symbol of the Buddha image. It was used to signify the images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras also. The identity of the Tīrthaṅkara was generally indicated by his cognisance carved in addition. In the case of the image in Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva the cognisance is the *nāga* or serpent which is shown as spreading his hood over its head. The image is therefore of the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanatha.

(4) But it may be said that 'the serpent hoods are seen over the head of the Buddha images also. Several such images have been discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The image in Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva which has *nāga-hoods* over its head can, therefore, be taken to be that of the Buddha also.' This objection is, no doubt, relevant. It must be considered at some length.

The serpent-hoods spread over the head are not a distinguishing characteristic of a Buddha image as they are of the image of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. They are not noticed on all images of the Buddha. They are seen only in connection with an episode in the life of Gautama Buddha. Gautama spent five weeks at Gayā after he attained enlightenment. Then he went to the Nāga Muchalinda who was dwelling in a lake nearby. To protect him from a storm which broke out at the time, the Nāga spread his hoods over his head. This episode is shown on the railing of many stūpas. The Nāga-hoods are shown over the head of the Buddha only in connection with this episode in the relics of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[31] He is shown as sitting on the coils of a serpent. Some Nāgas with similar hoods are shown humbly bowing to him. No such episode is intended to be represented in the caves Nos. II and III at Dhārāśiva. The images

30. *J.O.I.*, Vol. X, pp. 63 f.
31. See *M.A.S.I.*, No. 54, pp. 28 and 32.

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with nāga-hoods over their heads must, therefore be taken to be those of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha.

(5) On the frieze of the verandah are carved small images of Jinas, which leave no doubt that the cave behind is of the Jaina faith. We have no reason to suppose that this façade of the verandah was carved three or four centuries after the cave.

The foregoing examination of Dr. Dhavalikar's arguments must have shown that Cave Nos. II and III are of the Jaina faith. There is no evidence to attribute them to Buddhism. They were regarded as Jaina caves from the 9th to the 11th century as is clear from their description in the *Bṛhatkathākośa* and *Karakaṇḍacariu*.

We need not suppose that all the description of Cave No. II in the aforementioned two works is correct. Neither Hariṣeṇa nor Kanakāmara is likely to have personally seen them. The former was staying at Vardhmānapura which, as I have shown elsewhere,[32] was situated in Malwa. Kanakāmara may have been staying somewhere near Tripuri, the capital of King Karṇa mentioned in the *Karakaṇḍacariu*.[33] Both these authors lived far away from Dhārāśiva. Their description of Cave No. II at Dhārāśiva is evidently from hearsay or Jaina tradition. It is also imaginary to a great extent; for they describe the image in the cave as inlaid with jewels and that on the hill-top as inlaid with gold and jewels. The hall of the cave had a thousand pillars! The story of water stream gushing out of a chiselled knob on the *simhasana* of the Pārśvanātha image in Cave No. II is equally fanciful. It may have been suggested by the presence of a small hole in the cell in the north-west corner of the cave which is always filled with water. As Burgess conjectured, it has perhaps some connection with the cistern at the west end of the verandah. The cell in which the cistern has been excavated has two holes in the floor noticed by Burgess.[34] The miraculous story of the water stream inundating the whole cave may have owed its origin to the presence of these holes which are always filled with water.

32. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV, pp. 137 f.
33. *Karakaṇḍacariu*, 10, 29.6.
34. *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. III, p. 6.

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The story that these caves were excavated by the Vidyādharas Nīla and Mahānīla, who hailed from the Himalayan region and were ruling from Tagara, may be equally imaginary. It occurs first in the Sanskrit work *Bṛhatkathākośa* (10th cen. A.D.) Nearly a hundred years before, the Śilāhāra kings had commenced their rule in North Koṅkan. They state in their records that they had hailed from the city of Tagara. They also trace their descent from the Vidyādhara Jīmūtavāhana. This must have led to the tradition that the caves near Tagara were excavated by the Vidyādharas who had been converted to Jainism. We do not know whether the Śilāhāra kings ruling from Tagara were of the Jaina faith. The caves may have been excavated with their generous support. The tradition that the caves were excavated by the Vidyādharas Nīla and Mahānīla after their conversion to Jainism is evidently due to the supposition that those who were responsible for the excavation must have been of the Jaina faith. It may be noted in this connection that a feudatory of the Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇ viz. Cāmuṇḍarāja, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., assumed the *biruda Tribhuvana-Nīla*. His father Vijjarāṇaka was known as *Āhava-Nīla*.[35] These birudas are reminiscent of the traditional rule of the Vidyādhara Nīla at Tagara: for like his Śilāhāra overlord, Cāmundarāja also bore the *biruda Tagarapura-parameśvaṛa*, suggesting Tagara as his original home.

35. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 66.

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Status of Hill Tippera as a "Native" State

BY

B. P. BARUA

Hill Tippera or Independent Tippera is the parent state of the modern province of Tripura. The early history of Tippera is shrouded in mystery. A clear picture emerges since the invasion of Tippera by Tugril Khan, the then Governor of Bengal under the Sultanate of Delhi, in 1278 or 1279 when Ratnapha was placed on the throne. Inspite of the extension of influence by the Muslim rulers of Bengal, Tippera maintained its independence through the centuries. It was in 1733 that Sujauddin, Subadar of Bengal, Subdued Raja Dharma Manikya, and compelled him to cede some territories and renamed Tippera as Roshnabad or the country of light. Henceforward the Rajas of Tippera were reigning as the tributary kings of the Mughal Subadars of Bengal.[1] But the Mughals were soon to give way to the British in eastern India.

The British contact with Tippera began as early as 1760 when Nawab Mir Qasim ceded to them the districts of Chttagong along with Burdwan and Midnapore. A British force from Chittagong entered Tippera in 1761 ostensibly to punish, on behalf of the Nawab, the rebellious Raja Krishna Manikya, but actually to bring the king under British sphere of influence. Krishna Manikya surrendered to the British and in 1765, after the acquisition of the *Diwani* of Bengal, he was recognised as the Raja of Tippera.[2] In the hill territories he remained an absolute ruler. A settlement was made with him as the *zamindar* of his plain territories described as *Pergunnah Roshnabad* in the Mohammedan revenue roll. In 1783 Rajdhar Manikya, the next king

1. J. N. Sarkar, *Bengal Nawabs*, p. 7. Mughal conquest of Bengal: Acc. to Sarkar, 1729; Stewart, 1733; and Rev. J. Long, 1739.

2. Rev. J. Long, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1850, Vol. XIX, p. 554.

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was imprisoned and prosecuted on a charge of harbouring dacoits, but was released for lack of evidence. He was invested by the British in 1785 and was made the settlement-holder of Roshnabad in 1792.[3] From the beginning Rajdhar Manikya was left in undisputed possession of the hills. Thus arose the dualism of the Hill Tippera Raja; he was both an independent ruler and a British Indian *zamindar*. As a *zamindar*, he was liable to the jurisdiction of British courts, and as a ruler of the hill territories, he was independent exercising powers of life and death over his subjects. His position was unique among Indian princes. The income from his estate in British India was much more than the revenue of his independent jurisdiction. To distinguish it from Tippera proper, which was a British district, Hill Tippera was called Independent Tippera.

In 1838 the status of Independent Tippera was reviewed while considering the question of the Raja's right to levy duties on Hill Tippera produce passing to British territory. It was argued by the Commissioner of Chittagong that Hill Tippera did not constitute an independent state because of the fact that the British force had subjugated the whole of Tippera in 1761, that the Raja had submitted to investiture at the hands of the British Government and that Rajdhar Manikya had been apprehended and tried for justice by British officers. All the arguments were rejected by the Deputy Governor of Bengal. Whatever might have been the nature of British occupation in 1761, it was pointed out, only the plain territories were administered by the British Government. Secondly, the investiture of inferior princes by the paramount power could not alter the independent status of a state. As for the arrest of the Raja, it was stated that the exercise of jurisdiction under the regulations over a *zamindar* did not necessarily mean the exercise of the same jurisdiction over an independent Raja. On the other hand, the Raja by prescription had a claim over Independent Tippera. Since the accession of the British, particularly since 1792, the Raja had been ruling over Hill Tippera as an independent ruler, without a challenge from any quarter. Moreover, the British authorities had all along treated him as an independent ruler. The Deputy Governor of

3. A. Mackenzie, *North East Frontier of Bengal*, p. 273.

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Bengal come to the conclusion that the Raja had an independent hill territory and that he had every right to levy any duty he pleased in his territory.[4]

The position of Hill Tippera was again considered in 1860 with reference to Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 26 July 1860, regarding the grant of sanads giving the right of adoption to "Native" chiefs. After describing the peculiar position of the Raja as a *zamindar* in British territory whose state was held as an adjunct of his *zamindary*, Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, expressed the opinion that the British Government had no right to interfere with the immemorial custom of the Tippera Raj in matters of succession. According to him, "Independent Tippera is not held by gift from the British Government or its predecessors, or under any title derived from it or them, never having been subjected by the Moguls. The British Government cannot interfere with the succession to the *zamindary* of Tippera by adoption, nomination or such other means as the special custom of the family lawfully sanctions..... There is nothing for the British Government to concede, in which view any communication made to the Rajah would not profess to be a concession."

This view was apparently accepted by the Government of India as no adoption sanad was sent for presentation to the Raja.[5]

The title of the state was finally determined in 1866. When the Lieutenant Governor's opinion was sought regarding a notification which the Government of India proposed to issue relating to the distribution of original criminal jurisdiction between the several High Courts, Sir Cecil Beadon suggested the substitution of the words "Independent Tippera" used in the draft by "Hill Tippera." For, he observed, "this territory, though not subject to the jurisdiction of our courts, is not practically independent." This suggestion was approved in the Resolution of the Government of India, dated 26th Sept. 1866. Henceforward Independent Tippera came to be known as Hill Tippera. The Raja, however, continued to use the words "Independent Hill Tippera" in his

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 409-414.
5. Government of India, Foreign Department, *Political proceedings A*, March 1862, No. 376.

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official documents. These terms were thought to be harmless as the Raja never asserted his independence by any action or questioned the authority of the British Government in any way.[6]

As early as 1860 the District Magistrate of Tippera and the Commissioner of Chittagong urged upon the Government to interfere in Hill Tippera consequent upon Lushai raids in British territory across Hill Tippera.[7] Mr. C. T. Buckland, Officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, suggested that the Government should either set aside the Raja's independence or appoint a Political Agent at Agartala to relieve the Raja of his duty of frontier defence. He added that an enquiry should be made as to the professsed independence of the Raja of Hill Tippera. In his opinion, if the Raja was in any way tributary or in allegiance to the Mahammedan power, he would have stood in exactly the same position in relation to the British Government. In case his independence was taken as an admitted and unquestionable fact, Buckland opined, his relation with the British Government should be reviewed and certain principles should be laid down for future guidance. Buckland observed that there was nothing in Hill Tippera for the Government to desire annexation. It was all hill and jungle, its population was small and its revenue would not pay the expenses of its government. He opined that the Raja of Hill Tippera might be treated like the chiefs of Chittagong Hill Tracts.[8] No order was, however, passed on the proposal by the authorities.

In 1868 Sir William Grey reversed the opinion hitherto held by the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal while classifying the chiefs within his jurisdiction with reference to the nazarana rules. On the basis of a note prepared by his Under Secretary, Mr. Geoghegan, he was of the opinion that Hill Tippera had at one time been subjected to the Mughal. He was obviously referring to the subjugation of Hill Tippera by the Mughal subadar of Bengal in 1733. He observed that the *Raj* was so insignificant that succession to it naturally followed the succession to *zamindary*, and the claimants

6. *Bengal Political proceedings B*, 21 February 1877 Nos. 82-83.
7. *Bengal Judicial proceedings A*, 7 November, 1877, Nos. 82-83.
8. *Ibid.*, June 1862, Nos. 5-7.

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to the throne always applied to Government, as to a paramount power, for recognition. In his opinion, "Hill Tippera is really non-British, though the Raja is a feudatory."[9] Acting upon this, the Government of India, in their Resolution, dated 6 March 1870, decided that the Raja was a "feudatory," and as such *nazarana* should be demanded from him on succession.[10]

When the question of the appointment of a Political Agent was under consideration, the position of the Raja and his state was fully discussed. In 1870, in a letter to the Government of India, Mr. Eden, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, referred to the anomalous position of the Raja whereby a British subject possessed the power of war and peace, and of life and death, without limit or control in a tract of country almost surrounded by British territory. It was suggested that the Government might properly go further, than the appointment of Political Agent and place the Raja in a somewhat similar position to that occupied by the Cuttack Chiefs. No change in his status was, however, made when final orders were passed.[11] When the Raja remonstrated against the proposal to appoint a Political Agent at Agartala, the Government of India assured him that in appointing a Political Agent the Government had no intention to cause a reduction of his power and interest.[12]

The Status of Hill Tippera again came under the consideration of Government in connection with the Laws (Local Extent) Bill and the Scheduled Districts Bill. According to Aitchison, whether a particular territory is a state or part of British India should be judged by the evidence of long usage and writings. On that basis, it was evident that Hill Tippera did not form a portion of British India. Accordingly, it was excluded from the schedule of the Scheduled Districts Bill, as territory to which the power of Government to extend its legislation did not apply.[13]

9. Government of India, *Foreign Department, Political proceedings A.* March 1862, No. 376.
10. *Ibid.*, January 1869, No. 426.
11. *Bengal Judicial proceedings A*, Nov. 1870, No. 103.
12. *Ibid.*, October 1870, No. 106.
13. Bengal Political proceedings A, 12 July 1880, No. 1.

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Hill Tippera was never regarded a non-regulation province of British India, the King being a feudatory, it was nothing but a vassal state. In consonance with the new interpretation of the status of Hill Tippera, the Government of India drew the attention of the Government of Bengal to the impropriety of the use of terms "throne" and "crown" in the Administrative Report of the Political Agency of Hill Tippera for 1874–75.[14]

The High Court of Calcutta in a case between Rajkumar Nabadeep Chandra Dev Barman Vs. Maharaja Bir Chandra Manikya Bahadur, Radha Kishore Thakur and Samarendra Chandra Thakur, described Hill Tippera as "Sovereign State" in 1883. That Hill Tippera made and administered its own laws without dependence on any power and that the Maharaja exercised the power of life and death within his territory were treated as clear evidence of its sovereignty. "Its acknowledgement of the British Government as the paramount power and the nuzzur paid on the recognistion by that Government of each succeeding Maharaja do not take from it the status which by the law of nations it is entitled to hold."[15]

Thus, theoretically and legally Hill Tippera was a sovereign and independent state. There was no treaty binding Hill Tippera into a subsidiary alliance with the British Government. Nor was it a created state. The only mark of subjection was that the Raja received his investiture from the British Government and was required to pay the usual *nazarna* on succession. Its legal status was even superior to that of large states like Hyderabad, Gwalior and Indore. But in practice Hill Tippera was treated as a small "Native State" subservient to British paramountcy The Maharaja was not even invited to attend the Delhi Darbar in 1877; he was asked to celebrate it at Agartala.

In the opinion of Sir Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Hill Tippera formed a part of the "British Empire." This opinion had been communicated to the Foreign Department in 1863.[16] But the question was never fully discussed. With the

14. *Ibid.*, 3 October 1875, No. 3.
15. *Ibid.*, 2, July 1883, Nos. 28-30.
16. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1880, Nos. 1-2.

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liberal interpretation of the terms, empire and paramountcy,, "Native States" were reduced to vassal states. By the end of the nineteenth century the internal affairs of Hill Tippera were brought under the general supervision of the Government exercised through the Commissioner of Chittagong and the District Magistrate of Tippera-cum-Political Agent of Hill Tippera. By a sanad issued to the Raja Radha Kishore Manikya in 1904, the Chiefship of Hill Tippera was made hereditary in the Deb Barman family, and the traditional and recognised custom of succession was replaced by the principle of lineal primogeniture.[17]

British paramountcy became an established fact by the end of the nineteenth century and the Raja of Hill Tippera was reduced from the position of a sovereign ruler of a semi-independent state to a minor prince of a small "Native State" subordinate to the paramount power.[18]

The importance of Hill Tippera as a "Native" State lies in the fact that it offers a striking example as to how a sovereign state was reduced to a subordinate state through the exercise of mere political pressure. Secondly, the case of Hill Tippera needs to be studied because the Raja was the only prince who had extensive *zamindaries* in British India and as such he was both a subject *zamindar* and an autonomous prince. Hence, the position of Hill Tippera deserves to be cited in text-books.

17. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, Sanade etc.*, 1909, Vol. II, p. 281.

18. The Chief of Hill Tippera was conferred the title of Maharaja as a hereditary distinction in January, 1919. He was styled as "His Highness" in official correspondence since 1884. As a prince he was entitled to a salute of 13 guns.

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A Note on Husain Shah's Assam Expedition

BY

SUNILKUMAR DAS

Husain Shāh's encounter with the Ahoms is a matter of much controversy. The bewildering texts lead scholars to doubt their relevancy with regard to this critical but interesting episode. The difficulty is further intensified by the curious fact that, though numerous coins and a few inscriptions describing Husain Shāh as the conqueror of *Kāmrū* (Kāmarūpa) and *Kamtah* (Kamatā) have been discovered, they are completely silent with regard to his expedition against Assam.

'Ālā-ud-Dīn Husain Shāh (1493–1519 A.D.), the Sultan of Bengal conquered Kāmarūpa after vanquishing its ruler Nilāmbara,[1] the third and the last king of the Khena dynasty, who ruled with his capital at Kamatāpura situated on the left bank of the Dharla, about fourteen miles south-west of modern Cooch Behar. With the defeat of Nilāmbara his kingdom was incorporated into the Bengal Sultan's dominion. From his base at Kāmarūpa, the victorious Gauḍa Sultan is said to have led a campaign against Assam and became quite successful. The consolidation of the conquests was left in charge of his son, identified with Dānyāl,[2] who could not join his new post of the Governor of Kāmarūpa, the headquarters of which was situated at Hājo, few miles north-west of Gauhāṭī, before 1498, for he

1. *Riyās-us-Salāṭin*, tr. M. A. Salam, 1902, p. 134; *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, 1948, p. 146; E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, 1963, pp. 44-46; M. Martin, *Eastern India*, London, Vol. III, pp. 410f. Accounts vary regarding the end of Nilāmbara. He was taken prisoner, escorted to Gauḍa and later managed to escape and was heard no more, or he was killed in the battle-field (see Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 411; *JASB*, 1873, p. 240; H. N. Chaudhuri, *The Cooch Behar State*, 1903, p. 224).

2. Salam, *op.cit.*, p. 132 note 1; J. Princep, *Useful Tables*, 1835, p. 117; Cf. also *JASB*, 1872, pp. 79 note, 335; Badauni, *Muntakhāb ut-Tawārīkh*, Bib. Ind., 1868, vol. I, p. 317; *Ibid.*, ed. G. S. A. Ranking, 1898, p. 417.

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was in Munghyr at least till that year. This is corroborated by the Munghyr inscription of 903 A.H. (1497–98 A.D.)[3] in which year he is said to have constructed a vault over the shrine of Pīr Nāfah.[4] The appointment of the Governor of Kāmarūpa is further supported by the traditional date of the fall of Nilāmbara rather Kamatāpura, which is ascribed to the year 1498.[5]

Numerous hoards of Husain Shāh's coins have been found, some of which bear the epithet "the conqueror of *Kāmrū* and *Kamtah* ....." These coins are dated 899 A.H. (1493 A.D.),[6] 910 A.H. (1504 A.D.),[7] 912 A.H. (1506 A.D.),[8] 914 A.H. (1508 A.D.),[9] 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.),[10] 919 A.H. (1513 A.D.),[11] 920 A.H. (1514 A.D.),[12] 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.),[13] 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.),[14] 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).[15] Of the epigraphs, mention may be made of an inscription on a little mosque near the Thānā of English Bāzār, Gour, dated 1st *Ramazān*, 907 A.H. (March 10, 1502 A.D.).[16] The Sylhet inscription[17] dated 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.) of Husain Shāh also records the same eulogy (i.e., the conqueror

3. *JASB*, 1872, p. 335; S. Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Dacca (undated), vol. IV, pp. 153f.

4. *Nāfah* is a Persian word meaning 'pod of musk'.

5. Gait., *op. cit.*, p. 44; Sarkar, *loc. cit.; JASB*, 1873, *loc. cit.; Ibid.*, 1872, *loc. cit., ibid.*, 1874, p. 281.

6. H. N. Wright, *Cat. of the coins of Ind. Muse.*, 1907, vol. II, p. 173, pl. V, No. 175; A. W. Botham & R. Friel, *Suppl. to the Cat. of the Prov. Cab. of coins, Assam*, 1919, pp. 152f, No. 6/17; *JPASB(NS)*, 1929, p. 6N.

7. Botham, *Cat. Prov. coin Cab. Assam*, 1930, p. 170, No. 18.

8. Wright, *loc. cit.*, No. 176.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 177; Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 168, Nos. 10, 11; Botham and Friel, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 f, Nos. 6/10; 6/12.

10. Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 170, No. 19; Botham and Friel, *op. cit.*, pp. 148f, No. 6/1.

11. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 174, No. 179; S. Lanepoole, *Coins of the Md. States of Ind.*, 1885; p. 47, pl. 6; No. 122; N. K. Bhattasali, *Cat. of the Coins in the Collec. of H. Rahman*, 1936, p. 24, pl. II, No. 120; *JPASB(NS)*, 1929, p. 7N.

12. Botham and Freil, *op. cit.*, pp. 150f, No. 6/8.

13. *Ibid.*, No. 6/9; Botham, *op. cit.*, No. 20.

14. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 173, No. 178; *JPASB(NS)*, 1929, *loc. cit.*

15. Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 169, No. 16; Botham and Friel, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 f, No. 6/16.

16. *JASB*, 1874, p. 303.

17. *Ibid.*, 1922, p. 413.

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of *Kāmrū* and *Kamtah*) as that occurs on the coins as noted above.

The available specimens thus make it apparent that the earliest and the latest coins styling Husain Shāh as the conqueror of *Kāmrū* and *Kamtah* are dated respectively in 1493 and 1518 A.D. All this, therefore, suggests that Husain Shāh's Kāmarūpa expedition took place between 1493 and 1498, and not between 1498 and 1502 as some scholars would have us believe.[18] The problem that requires consideration is, therefore, why the coin legends continued to style Husain Shāh as the conqueror of *Kāmrū* and *Kamtah* as late as 1518 A.D. although the region was already under control of the Sultan by 1498 A.D. It may not be unreasonable to infer that though the conquest of the tract was an incident of the past, the continuation of the epithet on the coins and in inscriptions unmistakably bespeaks that Husain Shāh was strong enough to retain his hold over Kāmarūpa.

At any rate, the victorious Gauḍa army, consisting of infantry and cavalry, records the *Ālamgīrnāmāh*,[19] won an initial victory over the Assamese. Incapable of holding against the Bengalee forces, the king of Assam retired to the hills leaving the plains below to be occupied by the Muhammadan soldiers. Leaving his son to bring about the subjugation of the region, Husain Shāh returned to Bengal. When the rains set in, the Rājā accompanied by his followers descended from the hills, blocked the roads, surrounded the Muslims and captured them to the last man. Almost an identical description is recorded in the *Fathiyāh-i'-Ibriyāh*[20] and the *Riyās-us-Salātin*.[21] The *Rajamālā*,[22] while narrating Husain Shāh's war with Tippera, incidentally refers to his Assam affairs. After suffering defeat

18. *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 79 note; Gait, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 146f; Salam, *op. cit.*, p. 132; R. K. Charaborti, *Gauḍer Itihāsa*, 1909, Vol. II, p. 113; R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, 1324 B.S., Vol. II, pp. 247f.

19. Muhammad Kāzim, *op. cit.*, Bib. Ind., 1868, pp. 730 f.

20. *JASB*, 1872, p. 79; *Fathiyāh-i'-Ibriyāh* or *Tārīkh-Fath-i-Āshām* was written by Shihābud-Dīn Tālish between August 9, 1662 and May 13, 1663.

21. Salam, *op. cit.*, pp. 132f.

22. *Op. cit.*, ed. K. P. Sen, 1337 Tripurābda, Vol. II, p. 24.

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at the hands of Tippera Rājā, Husain Shāh is said to have exclaimed!

Yuddhete Āsāma Koca māriā laila /
Tripurāra sainya āmā apamāna dila //

'The Assamese and the Koch people inflicted injury on me in the battle and the soldiers of Tippera also insulted me.'

This is, in all, the extent of literary sources in support of Husain Shāh's Assam expedition. Some scholars are of opinion that Husain Shāh attacked Assam immediately after his conquest of Kāmarūpa in 1498 A.D. But it would perhaps be improper, in the absence of epigraphic and numismatic evidence, to attach any undue importance to Husain Shāh's expedition against Assam.

According to S. N. Bhattacharya, "the Kāmatā and Assam campaigns (of Husain Shāh) were successive in time, the second one being a supplement and a corollary to the first."[23] He also identified the commanders of Husain Shāh's Assam campaign with Bit Mālik and Mit Mālik,[24] who, according to the chronicles of Assam,[25] were responsible for Assam invasion in 1527 A.D., and rejected[26] thereby the views of E. A. Gait,[27] according to whom Husain's Assam campaign was a myth.

But a critical examination of the evidence reveals that the inference drawn by Bhattacharya is debatable.

In the first place, he suggested that the Ahom dominion, during the close of the fifteenth century, had stretched eastward of Barnadī far to the upper Brahmaputra valley.[28] This view is endorsed by M. R. Tarafdar.[29]

But this proposition is refutable on the ground that the Ahom dominion, by the close of the fifteenth century, did not extend beyond the river Dikhu.[30] And it was not contiguous to the

23. *Mughal North East Frontier Policy*, 1929, p. 85 note.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 86 ff.
25. *Ahom Buranji*, ed. G. C. Barua, 1930, pp. 66-68.
26. *Op. cit.*, p. 85 note.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92, note 1. Also see *JPASB*, 1910, p. 157.
28. *Op. cit.*, p. 71.
29. *Husain Shahi Bengal*, ASP, Dacca, 1965, p. 49; *JNSI*, 1957, p. 57.
30. See Laksmi Devi, *Ahom Tribal Relations*, Gauhati, 1968, p. 80.

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boundary of the Kamatā kingdom as believed by S. N. Bhattacharya and M. R. Tarafdar. The region intervened between the Kamatā and the Ahom kingdoms was ruled by several independent principalities controlled by the Chuṭiyās[31] on the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the Kachāris on the south bank with their headquarters in the Dhansiri valley.[32] Besides, a number of petty chieftains designated as the Bhūiyāñs, whose identity is wrapped up in obscurity, controlled the tracts situated to the north-east and south-east of Kamatā and it extended as far as the Subansiri in the north of the Brahmaputra and the Kapili valley in the south.[33] The configuration of the region leaves no doubt that the Muslim soldiers must have encountered with these chiefs or they were required to form an alliance of friendship with them before they could have marched to the Ahom dominion. But neither the Muhammadan sources nor the Assamese chronicles enlighten us on this point. But the admittedly short duration of the campaign and its abrupt end make the subjugation of all these political entities improbable within so limited a time. So Husain Shāh's alleged campaign against Assam could hardly make the Ahoms feel its real impact.

Secondly, Sultan Husain Shāh, contends Bhattacharya, led his campaign against Assam when it was ruled by Shü-hen-phā.[34] At the same time, he referred to the name of the Barapātra Gohāin,[35] the notable commander of the battle that ensued with the Muslims.[36]

But the statement of Bhattacharya requires a modification because of the fact that the post of the Barapātra Gohāin, the third dignitary of the Ahom court was created in the reign of

31. W. B. Brown, *An outline grammar of the Deori Chutiya Language*, 1895, p. 77.

32. See Botham & Friel, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

33. The seats of the Bhūiyāñ power and the extension of their jurisdiction will be taken up shortly.

34. *Op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85. This view is also maintained by R. C. Majumdar (see *An Advanced History of India*, ed. Majumdar, Roychoudhuri and Dutta, 1963, p. 389).

35. *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

36. G. C. Barua, *loc. cit.*

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Shü-hummöng (1497–1539),[37] and not in the reign of Shü-henphā, who, according to the chronicles of Assam, ruled[38] from 1488 to 1493 A.D.—a period almost prior to the accession of Husain Shāh to the throne of Gauḍa (Bengal).

Thirdly, he attempted to identify[38a] Husain Shāh with 'Khunphang' of *Purani Asam Burañjī*[39] and 'Khoopangh' of *An* Account of Assam.[40] Following Bhattacharya, M. R. Tarafdar also maintained the same identification.[41] But the above identification is not supported by evidence.

A writer of an essay 'Ançient Assam' published in the *Calcutta Review*[42] points out that "his (Husain Shāh's) march does not seem to have extended beyond Tezpore; and though he succeeded in demolishing their capital and loading himself with plunder he was ultimately repulsed by the Baro-Bhuyas and was obliged to content himself with his possession in Kamroop."

On a careful examination of the materials regarding the rise and fall of the Bāro Bhūiyāñs it becomes clear that the above statement of the contributor of the article 'Ancient Assam' appears to be certain. The actual Government of Kāmarūpa, holds K. L. Barua, since the transfer of its capital to Kamatāpura was controlled virtually by the petty Bhūiyāñ chiefs.[43] Their supremacy on the south of the Brahmaputra, rather Central Assam of present times is corroborated by the *Śaṅkaracarita* of Bhūṣaṇānda[44] and the *Bhāgavata* (Ch. X)[45] of Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. According to these sources, Śrī Śaṅkaradeva (1449–1569 A.D.), the great great-grandson of Caṇḍīvara, a renowned Bhūiyāñ chief, was

37. *Sātsarī Assam Burañjī*, ed. S. K. Bhuyan, 1969, pp. 12f, 67f; *Deodhāi Asam Burañjī*, ed. Bhuyan, 1962, pp. 124f.
38. Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 450.
38a. *Op. cit.*, p. 86 note.
39. *Op. cit.*, ed. H. C. Goswami, 1922, p. 58.
40. J. P. Wade, *op. cit.*, ed. B. Sharma, 1927, p. 30.
41. *Husain Shahi Bengal*, p. 45.
42. 1867, p. 528.
43. *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, 1933, p. 217. See also Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
44. Cf. N. N. Vasu, *Social History of Kāmarüpa*, 1926, vol. II, p. 14, note 11.
45. *Op. cit.*, padas 1477–78

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born at Baṭadravā (modern Bardowa) in the district of Nowgong. Caṇḍīvara is said to have ruled over the tract between Nowgong and Tezpore lying on both sides of the Brahmaputra.[46] Besides, the existence of a number of Bhūiyāñ chiefs on the north bank of the Brahmaputra is proved by the fact that Viśva Siṁha (1515-40), the founder of the Koch royal family, rose into eminence only after subduing the Bhūiyāñs.[47] In addition to these, mention is made of Rūpa Nārāyaṇa, Ghosāl Khān, Mal Kumāra and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, probably Bhūiyāñ chiefs, who, after the fall of Nilāmbara, are said to have been either defeated by or surrendered to Husain Shāh's soldiers.[48]

From what has been said above, it seems fairly certain that Husain Shāh's alleged Assam Campaign was actually carried against the Bhūiyāñs. The war strategy, as recorded in the Muhammadan chronicles, a common practice amongst the mountainous people, was followed by the Bhūiyāñs, who though defeated initially, became successful at length after inflicting a crushing defeat on their opponents, the Muslims. This eastern campaign beyond Kamatāpura is perhaps alluded to in the later Muslim chronicles as the Assam campaign of Husain Shāh. There is perhaps no reason to attach any undue importance to the information recorded in the *Ālamgīrnāmāh*, *Fathiyāh-i'-Ibriyāh*, *Riyās-us-Salātin* and the *Rajamālā* as these are not supported either by numismatic and epigraphic evidence or by sufficient authentic references.

46. Cf. Vasu, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
47. Sūrjya Khari Daibajña, *Darrang Rāj Vaṁśāvalī*, ed. H. C. Goswami, 1917, slokas 90-94, 118-22, pp. 16, 21-23.
48. See Salam, *op. cit.*, p. 134; K. L. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 264; H. E. Stapleton, *Memoirs of Gour and Pandua*, p. 34; Vasu, *op. cit.*, pp. 22f.

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A Note on *Apratirathah*

BY

V. C. PANDEY

The Gupta inscriptions apply the epithet *'apratirathaḥ'* to Samudragupta and Chandragupta II alone. For instance, the Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes Samudragupta as *"Pṛthivyāmapratirathaḥ."* The word *apratirathaḥ* occurs on his Archer type of coins as well. The Gupta records, e.g., the Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, uses, for Chandragupta II, a slightly different epithet—*svayam-apratirathaḥ*.

Dr. Fleet has translated these two designations as 'one who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world'[1] and 'one who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power)' respectively.[2] But some scholars following Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, have sought to prove that both these designations connote the Vaisnava faith of the two Gupta emperors.[3] According to Dr. Chhabra, the epithet *'apratirathaḥ'* figures among the thousand names of Lord Viṣṇu, as would appear from the following *śloka* in the *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma*:

Aniruddho' pratirathaḥ pradyumno' mitavikramaḥ

As regards *svayam-chāpratirathaḥ* used for Chandragupta II, it means 'the very (svayam-sākṣāt) incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu.'

However, it is difficult to accept such a view for a variety of reasons:

1. Samudragupta was undoubtedly a Brahmanist, as would appear from his performance of a horse sacrifice and his description as 'the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures[4] and 'the

1. Fleet C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
3. Gupta Samrāt aur Viṣṇusahasranāma (in Hindi), Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, Varanasi.
4. *Śāstra-tatvārtha-bhartuḥ*—Allahabad Pillar Inscription.

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firm rampart of the pale of religion.'[5] But it is difficult to agree with Dr. D. C. Sircar's assertion that 'Samudragupta was certainly a Vaiṣṇava,' but his successors, who claim to have been Bhāgavatas, do not apply that epithet to Samudragupta. There was probably some sort of doctrinal difference between Samudragupta's Vaiṣṇavism and the Bhāgavatism of his descendants.[6] There is nothing to warrant the assumption that Samudragupta and his descendants belonged to two different schools of Vaiṣṇavism. The non-mention of Samudragupta as a *paramabhāgavata* in the inscriptions which invariably call his descendants as *paramabhāgavata* would rather suggest that the former was not a Vaiṣṇava at all.

2. It is true that Samudragupta has been described as *puruṣasyācintyasya*, the Inscrutable Being, and *lokadhāmno devasya*,[7] a good dwelling on earth, in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. But it is untenable to take these two epithets as the synonyms of Lord Viṣṇu, as Dr. Sircar and Dr. Chhabra have done. The same inscription describes Samudragupta as the like of Kuvēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama.[8] All this mitigates against the view that Samudragupta was a Vaiṣṇava or an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. In fact, the attribution of divinity to Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription conforms to the concept of the divinity of king in Hindu Polity. However, barring a few exceptions, ancient Indian law-givers did not propound the theory of the divine origin of kingship as it was understood in the West. When Manu[9] postulated that the king was created from the eternal particles of eight *lōkapālas*, he was only attempting a functional comparison between the king and the gods. But he has nowhere called his king as the incarnation of God. All that he means is that the king may be as good as a god so long as he behaves like a god. This functional comparison is brought out in clearer terms by the *Agni Purāṇa* which tells us that the king is wind god, because he roams all over the world in the person of his spies. He is Yama, because he burns the evil-doers. He is Kuvēra,

5. *Dharma-prāchīrabandhaḥ—Ibid.*
6. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 266, foot note 4.
7. Compare Manu VII.8—*Mahatī devatā hyeshā nararupeṇa tishṭhati.*
8. *Dhanadavaruṇendrāntakasamasya*—Allahabad Pillar Inscription.
9. Manu VII.4—*Indrānilayamārkāṇāmagneścha varuṇasya cha chandravitteśayoschaiva mātrā nirhṛitya śāśvataḥ.*

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since he makes gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and the learned. He is the god of rain, since he pours down wealth on the poor. He is Śeṣanāga, since the whole universe is supported by his forbearance. He is Hari, since he protects the people. Thus, the object of the scribe comparing the king with various gods, including *"puruṣasyācintyasya,"* was not to portray the religious faith of his patron, but to emphasise the benevolent character of ancient Indian kingship.

3. Samudragupta's reign marked the gradual elimination of foreign influence on Indian coinage. In the process the *Meru* symbol of the Śakas was replaced by the Garuḍa symbol and alien goddesses like Ardoxsho by Durgā and Lakṣmī. But the adoption of Garuḍa as the royal emblem by Samudragupta appears to have been motivated by political rather than religious considerations. Garuḍa, the arch enemy of the serpents (*Nāgas*) heralded the triumph of the Gupta monarch over the Nāga princes[10] who were 'uprooted' (unmūlya) and 'forcibly extirpated' (prasabhoddharaṇa) by him, in his Āryāvarta campaigns. The goddess Lakṣmī has never been depicted on the coins of Samudragupta in the company of her consort, Lord Viṣṇu. In fact, her figure appears to be a replica of Ardoxsho rather than of an Indian goddess. It seems 'Garuḍa' and 'Lakṣmī' were yet to make their presence felt as unmistakable constituents of the Vaiṣṇava paraphernalia in Gupta records.

4. Had the epithet *'apratirathaḥ'* been a synonym of Lord Viṣṇu, it would have been applied, with greater justification, to the successors of Chandragupta II who, unlike Samudragupta, made themselves publicly known as the devotees of Lord Viṣṇu (Paramabhāgavatas).

The fact is that *'apratirathaḥ'* simply means 'one who is without an antagonist' and is indicative of victorious military career of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Since none of the successors of Chandragupta II enjoyed unchallenged and unbroken supremacy over their rivals, this epithet was quietly dropped out of official usage during the reign of their successors.

10. Compare—*Narapatibhujagānām mānadarpotphaṇānām Pratikṛtigarudājñām nirvishīm chāvakartā*—Junagargh Inscription.

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5. That *'apratirathaḥ'* or *'chāpratirathaḥ'* simply meant 'one who is without an antagonist' is borne out by numerous literary sources. For instance, the *Mahābhārata* describes Duṣyanta as *chāpratirathaḥ*[11] in this sense.

If we were to take *'svayam chāpratirathaḥ'* as meaning 'the very incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, in the case of Chandragupta II, as suggested by Dr. Chhabra, it would ill fit in his description of *'paramabhāgavata'*. For he could not be described as the *Bhagavān* and the *Bhakta* in the same breath.

11. *Tam chāpratirathaḥ śrīmānāśramam pratyapadyata Devalokapratīkāśam sarvaṭaḥ sumanoharam—Ādi*, 70, 23.

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The Impact of Ultra-Leftism on the Communist Party of India, 1928-36

BY

CONRAD WOOD

Prefatory Note

This article attempts to demonstrate the adverse impact of 'leftist' tactics on the work and fortunes of the C.P.I. from 1928 to 1936, 'leftism' being defined in terms of Leninist orthodoxy.

Since C.P.I. leftism consisted in this period largely in a negative attitude to the Indian national movement, the C.P.I.'s relations with Congress constitute a central concern of the article. The C.P.I.'s failure in the trade-union movement in 1929–32 is shown to have been basically a result not only of the Party's leftism in general but also of C.P.I. antagonism to the national movement in particualr.

Abbreviations

A.I.C.C.	:	All-India Congress Committee.
A.I.T.U.C.	:	All-India Trade-Union Congress
A.I.W.P.P.	:	All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party.
B.P.C.C.	:	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.
Comintern	:	Communist International.
C.P.I.	:	Communist Party of India.
C.P.S.U.	:	Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
C.S.P.	:	Congress Socialist Party.
E.C.C.I.	:	Executive Committee of the Communist International.
G.K.U.	:	*Girni Kamgar* Union.
G. of I.	:	Government of India.
I.N.C.	:	Indian National Congress.
Inprecor	:	International Press Correspondence.
P.P.T.U.S.	:	Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.
Profintern	:	See 'R.I.L.U.'.
Red T.U.C.	:	Red Trade-Union Congress.
R.I.L.U.	:	Red International of Labour Unions.
U.P.	:	United Provinces.
W.P.P.	:	Workers' and Peasants' Party.

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"The transfer of state power from one class to another *class* is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, ...".[1]

A long-term aim of all Communist Parties is to achieve a socialist society through 'proletarian' or 'socialist' revolution of which the transfer of state power from the previous ruling class to the proletariat is the essence. However in 1905 Lenin had stressed the conditions on which the accomplishment of such an aim was contingent. Since like all Marxists he was convinced that "the emancipation of the workers can only be brought about by the workers themselves";[2] he had said, referring to his own country, but at the same time laying down principles applicable to all countries in which capitalist development was still rudimentary:

"The present degree of economic development of Russia (an objective condition) and the degree of class consciousness and organisation of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition indissolubly connected with the objective condition) make the immediate, complete emancipation of the working class [through the socialist revolution] impossible."[3]

Thus, outside the developed capitalist world, Communist Parties were set the task of helping establish the preconditions for socialist revolution by, paradoxically, working for the acceleration of capitalist development. As Lenin put it:

"The idea of seeking salvation for the working class in anything save the further development of capitalism is *reactionary*. In countries like Russia, the working class suffers not so much from capitalism as from lack of capitalist development .... The removal of all the remnants of the old order which are hampering the wide, free and speedy development of capitalism is of *absolute* advantage to the working class."[4]

But further, since the "bourgeois revolution is precisely the revolution which most resolutely sweeps away the survivals of the past .... a revolution which most fully guarantees the widest,

1. Lenin, 'Letters on Tactics', first published April 1917, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, 33. Throughout stress is in the original.
2. 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy', *Selected Works*, Vol. III, 52.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, 75.

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freest and speediest development of capitalism" it follows that in 'backward' countries "the *bourgeois* revolution is in the *highest degree advantageous to the proletariat.*"[5]

The political implications are of the greatest importance. If the 'bourgeois revolution is absolutely necessary in the interests of the proletariat,"[6] then the way would seem open for cooperation between political representatives of bourgeois interests (as Marxists regard the Indian National Congress for example) and Communist Parties in the fight to effect such a revolution. Such cooperation in the struggle to complete the tasks of the bourgeois or 'national democratic' revolution would be collaboration directed against two enemies: those forces representing autocratic, precapitalist society (such as the princes and great landowners of India) — the 'democratic' aspect of the revolution, and those representing obstacles to the establishment of an independent 'nation-state' whose market the 'national bourgeoisie' can exploit for itself (in India, notably, British rule) — the 'national' aspect of the revolution.[7]

Of course both Communists and the bourgeoisie would be collaborating against common enemies only out of self-interest. Indeed, Lenin stressed that the joint struggle against 'feudalism' and imperialism was necessary preparation for the proletarian, anti-bourgeois revolution:

"The more complete, determined and consistent the bourgeois revolution is, the more secure will the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and for socialism become."[8]

Thus whilst cooperation with the national bourgeoisie might be necessary to defeat 'feudalism' and imperialism a "Social-Democrat[9] must never .... forget that the proletarian class struggle for socialism against the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is inevitable." A tactical con-

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. See for example *ibid.*, 99: "the *national* character of the democratic revolution".
8. *Ibid.*, 75.
9. This was written in the pre-First World War period when Marxists had not yet rejected the label 'Social-Democrat.'

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sequence was 'the absolute necessity of a separate, independent and strictly class party of Social-Democracy."[10]

Such organisational independence of the Communists was seen as necessary also because, paradoxically, the bourgeoisie was regarded as less reliable in executing 'its own' revolution than the proletariat. As Lenin claimed:

"It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, if the bourgeois revolution .... is not fully consistent, if it is not determined and ruthless .... if the necessary bourgeois-democratic changes take place ... by means of reforms and not by means of revolution ... if these reforms develop as little as possible the revolutionary initiative .... of the common people, ... for otherwise it will be easier for the workers .... to turn the guns which the bourgeois revolution will place in their hands the liberty which the revolution will bring, the democratic institutions which will spring up on the ground that will be cleared of feudalism, against the bourgeoisie .... The very position the bourgeoisie as a class occupies in capitalist society inevitably causes it to be inconsistent in the democratic revolution. The very position the proletariat as a class occupies compels it to be consistently democratic. The bourgeoisie looks behind, is afraid of democratic progress which threatens to strengthen the proletariat. The proletariat has nothing to lose but its chains, but by means of democracy it has the whole world to win.[11]

The organisational independence of Communists from the bourgeos national democratic movement was therefore necessary not only because of the inevitable eventual struggle for power between the two but also because of the immediate need for Communists to combat the bourgeoisie's irresolution in pursuing its own revolution.

Since the vacillating attitude of the bourgeoisie towards the bourgeois revolution was a consequence of the appearance of the proletariat on the stage of history, the further the development of the working class in numbers, class-consciousness and organisation, the more unreliable an ally the bourgeoisie was liable to

10. *Ibid.*, 100.

11. *Ibid.*, 75-7.

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become. Thus in 1913 Lenin had contrasted the situation in Europe where "the commanding bourgeoisie, fearing the growth and increasing strength of the protetariat" had betrayed the democratic revolution and was supporting "everything backward, moribund and medieval," with that in Asia where the "bourgeoisie .... is *as yet* siding with the people against reaction."[12]

This favourable estimate of the chances of the Asian bourgeoisie playing a significant role in the national democratic revolution found further expression in the preliminary theses on the national and colonial questions prepared by Lenin for the Second Comintern Congress in 1920:

"In regard to more backward states and nations .... all the Communist Parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries."[13]

At the same time Lenin's conviction that in time the colonial porletariat must conduct the socialist revolution against bourgeois resistance led him to declare that Communist support for "the bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries" should be "only on the condition that the elements of future proletarian parties existing in all backward countries, which are not merely Communist in name, shall be grouped together and trained to appreciate their special tasks, *viz.*, the tasks of fighing the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations." Thus the tactics Lenin had outlined in 1905 were reaffirmed as follows:

"The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its rudimentary form."[14]

The two basic 'deviations' from this position are the 'ultra-leftist' and the 'rightist'. The former denies the necessity for collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the fight for national democra-

12. 'Backward Europe & Advanced Asia', *The Awakening of Asia*, 26.
13. Lenin, 'Preliminary Draft Theses on the National & Colonial Questions', *Selected Works*, Vol. X, 236.
14. *Ibid.*, 237.

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tic revolution. The latter rejects the ideas that whilst the Communists are marching "side by side with the revolutionary and republican bourgeoisie," such a march should be "without merging with it,"[15] and that of "the provisional character of our tactics to 'strike together' with the bourgeoisie and the duty to carefully watch [*sic*] 'our ally as if he were an enemy.' "[16]

At the Second Comintern Congress the leftist deviation marked the contributions of Indian Marxist neophyte M. N. Roy. The main thrust of Roy's arguments was that support for bourgeois nationalist movements would contradict the interests of the colonial masses, and therefore the development of the revolutionary movement. Thus the minutes of the proceedings of the Comintern colonial commission record that Roy had asserted that 'the revolutionary movement in India, in as much as the broad masses are concerned, has nothing in common with the national liberation movement"[17] whilst in the original draft of his 'Supplementary Theses on the National & Colonial Question'[18] he had claimed that "colonial bourgeois democratic movements" and "revolutionary mass action through the medium of a communnist-party" were "two contradictory forces; they cannot develop together."[19]

Roy's "leftism" did not go unchallenged. The minutes of the proceeedings of the colonial commission[20] record criticism by

15. 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy', *op. cit.*, 71.

16. *Ibid.*, 100. Haithcox (*Communism and Nationalism in India*, 15) in attempting to distinguish between the Leninist and the 'ultra-left' Royist positions at the Second Comintern Congress, seems unconsciously to attribute a 'rightist' deviation to Lenin when he says that Roy was "Less trustful of the national bourgeoisie than Lenin". The above quotation hardly suggests Lenin was in any way 'trustful' of the national bourgeoisie.

17. Adhikari, *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, Vol. 1, 162. Adhikari states that these minutes are preserved in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in the U.S.S.R. and that a Soviet scholar, A. Reznikov quotes from them in two articles in *Kommunist*, the theoretical organ of the C.P.S.U.

18. Roy (in his *Memoirs*, 380-1) states that Lenin, on discovering his disagreement with the preliminary theses, suggested that he draft his own "alternative" theses. A photostat of Roy's original draft appears in Adhikari, *op. cit.*, 173-7.

19. Adhikari, *op. cit.*, 177 & 188.

20. *Ibid.*, 162-3.

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Lenin and British Communist Quelch of Roy's negative attitude to bourgeois national movements, whilst Lenin heavily amended Roy's draft supplementary theses, excising the more extreme leftist formulations (including that quoted above).[21]

In fact, the 'Theses on the National and Colonial Questions' which the Congress finally adopted corresponded closely to Lenin's preliminary theses. One important change was made however. In the colonial commission's report Lenin explained that as a result of that body's discussions "we unanimously decided to speak of the nationalist-revolutionary[22] movement instead of the 'bourgeois-democratic' movement."[23]

Overstreet and Windmiller have claimed: "It was clear that to Lenin's mind the change was more apparent that real, for he declared in the debate, 'There is no doubt that every nationalist movement can be only a bourgeois-democratic movement.'[24]

Lenin, as a Marxist, was certainly convinced that "every nationalist movement can be only a bourgeois-democratic movement," but this was not to say also that "every bourgeois-democratic movement can be only a nationalist-revolutionary movement"as would have to be the case for the change to be "more apparent than real." In fact, the significance of the change was explained by Lenin in his report as follows:

"It was argued that if we speak about the bourgeois-democratic movement all distinction between reformist and revolutionary movements will be obliterated; whereas in recent times this distinction has been fully and clearly revealed in the backward and colonial countries .... A certain rapprochement has been brought about between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and those of the colonial countries, so that very often, even in the

21. *Ibid.*, 173-7, 178-88.

22. In some translations (e.g. that in Degras, *Communist International*, Vol. I, 139-44) this in fact appears in the adopted Theses as 'revolutionary liberation'. The difference is, of course, not significant.

23. *Selected Works*, Vol. X, 240.

24. *Communism in India*, 29.

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majority of cases, perhaps, where the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries does support the national movement, it simultaneously works in harmony with the imperialist bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, it joins the latter in fighting against all the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes .... The meaning of this change is that we Communists should, and will, support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonial countries only when these movements are really revolutionary, when the representatives of these movements do not hinder us in training and organising the peasants and the broad masses of the exploited in a revolutionary spirit."[25]

Overstreet and Windmiller's assumption that Lenin believed all bourgeois-democratic movements were revolutionary (and therefore should be supported) is shown here to be erroneous. Lenin plainly believed *some* bourgeois democratic movements were revolutionary whilst others were reformist and that only the former should be supported.[26]

25. *Selected Works*, Vol. X, 241.

26. Support for bourgeois reformist movements would clearly have been regarded by Lenin as rightism. Like Haithcox (see above 6) what Overstreet and Windmiller, in the above passage and elsewhere, often *assume* as the Leninist position is in fact what Lenin himself would have dismissed as rightism. An important consequence is that formulations which in reality are orthodox Leninism are mistaken for leftism. Thus referring to the C.P.I.'s 1930 'Draft Programme of Action' (see below, 34) as "a leftist document from beginning to end" (*op. cit.*, 145) Overstreet and Windmiller quote as an example of this programme's leftism a passage listing as some of the "main objects of the present stage of revolution":

" The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, churches, the British Government, officials and money lenders, and handing over for use to the toiling peasantry. Cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to money lenders and banks'." (*Ibid.*, 146).

Such tasks are essentially those of the bourgeois 'national democratic' revolution. They are directed against both imperialism (the British Government and officials) and 'feudalism' (landlords and moneylenders, ruling princes and churches). The handing over of the property of such elements to the peasantry would in itself promote capitalism not socialism. The ending of "slave agreements" and peasant indebtedness would do likewise.

Of course the Indian bourgeoisie might well resist pressing the bourgeois revolution to such lengths, but Lenin was quite explicit that an essential task of Communist Parties was to agitate for the most thorough-going bour-

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But if colonial bourgeois liberation movements were to be supported only when they were revolutionary rather than reformist what criterion was available for distinguishing between the two tendencies? For Marxists[27] the distinctive feature of a revolution is the "transfer of state power form one class to another *class.*" Thus a colonial bourgeois democratic movement of the revolutionary type would be one objectively promoting transfer of state power from the imperialist bourgeoisie to an indigenous class, whilst a reformist movement would be one content to leave the existing power structure basically unchanged, working merely for the advance of the native bourgeoisie under the class rule of foreign capitalism.

This being so, in India the prospect of Communist support for Congress action against British imperialism and its allies seemed increasingly bright. The Second Comintern Congress occurred during a period when what for Marxists was India's most important political expression of bourgeois interests, the Indian National Congress, was passing increasingly into the hands of militants who were willing to take actions which directly threatened the duration of British rule. Indeed the year of the Comintern Congress was also that of the adoption of the I.N.C. Nagpur constitution, changing the aim from self-government within the Empire to *swaraj*, a change indicative of the rapid (though still incomplete) transformation of Congress into the type of organisation capable of undertaking actions objectively furthering revolution in the Marxist sense.

Nor did it seem likely in 1920 that Communist-Congress cooperation would fail to materialise because of the absence of favourable response from Congress. Even before the Comintern Congress Communist attitudes to imperialism had attracted attention from Indian nationalism. At the time of the Treaty of Versailles Indian nationalist K. P. Khadilkar had written in

geois revolution possible. In the above passage the 1930 document does just that.

The C.P.I. 'Draft Pragramme of Action' (as is emphasised below, 34) certainly *was* a leftist document.. The above passage quoted from it by Overstreet and Windmiller is however not in itself leftist but quite consistent with Leninism.

27. See above, 2.

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Kesari that President Wilson could not take credit for putting forward the slogan of a peace without annexations and indemnities since "Lenin did it more than two years ago."[28] On 20 July 1920 *Kesari* even claimed in an editorial on Soviet foreign policy that "the only devotees of the principle of self-determination are the Bolsheviks."[29] With Tilak in 1919 having stated[30] that the Bolshevik revolution was found to be a favourable factor in the struggle for *swaraj* and Gandhi in the same year retorting to British suggestions for Congress's co-operation against Bolshevism with: "I have never believed in a Bolshevik menace,"[31] the possible obstacle[32] to Communist-bourgeois cooperation of the political representatives of the colonial bourgeoisie joining with imperialism "in fighting against all the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes" seemed in the case of contemporary India unlikely.

Of course not everything in the attitudes of Indian nationalists to the Communist movement favoured smooth progress towards cooperation. It was the policy of the *Raj* to play on the 'dangers' to India from Communism,[33] propaganda which it must be assumed had its effect on (especially) the propertied elements in Congress. However by 1919–20 at least *some* influential Congress men had come to believe that Communism did not amount to the threat to Indian nationalism the British represented it as, and others that it might be an asset in the struggle against imperialism. To what extent Indian Communism could capitalise on this favourable situation depended on the fortunes of leftism in the movement.

28. Quoted in Sardesai, *India and the Russian Revolution*, 21.

29. *Ibid.*, 26.

30. According to a Scotland Yard Report on Tilak in London, mentioned in Adhikari, *op. cit.*, 277.

31. Quoted in Zafar Imam, 'The Effects of the Russian Revolution on India, 1917-1920', *St. Anthony Papers*, No. 18, 90.

32. See Lenin's suggestion above, 8.

33. Thus, for example, Hallett, Secretary to Government of India (hereinafter G. of I.). Home Department, told all the Local Governments in India on 16 May 1934: "The Government of India .... attach great importance to persistent propaganda against communism which they hope may prove an effective means both of checking the movement and of keeping the subject continually before those whom communism threatens." (F/7/11/34—Poll; P/83). An example of such propaganda was the 'Assembly Letter' (see below, 15).

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Even after the opposition to Roy at the Second Comintern Congress leftism was not entirely eliminated from the theses adopted on the colonies. The colonial commission adopted[34] not only Lenin's amended preliminary theses but also Roy's supplementary theses. Despite Lenin's cuts thesis 7 still spoke of "two distinct movements .... the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and .... the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation," which, claimed Roy, "every day grow further and further apart."[35]

Moreover Roy, who during much of the 1920s was entrusted by the Comintern with the task of nurturing the embryonic Indian Communist movement, apparently did not totally abandon leftism. In 1922 he described "the development of indigenous capitalism" as "a force promising to be rather an ally of the imperialist power than a power working for the revolution"[36] whilst at the Fifth Comintern Congress (1924), Manuilsky had alleged:

"As at the Second Congress" Roy had "exaggerated the social movement in the colonies to the detriment of the nationalist movement."[37]

Even so, despite periodic manifestations of lingering allegiance to leftism, Roy, during his period of influence over the Indian Communism, generally guided it along the Leninist lines of 1920. In fact in a letter to Indian Communist Dange (19 December 1922) Roy applied Lenin's tactics to India by pressing for the formation of an illegal Communist Party (thus satisfying the need for independent political organisation of the proletariat), and for the establishment of a 'front' organisation to operate within Congress to fight the compromising tendency and develop the revolutionary trend in bourgeois nationalism. As the letter put it:

34. See Lenin's Report, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, 239.

35. Adopted text of Roy's supplementary theses, in Adhikari, *op. cit.*, 185.

36. In the preface to the German edition of his *India in Transition* quoted in *Ibid.*, 364.

37. Quoted in Haithcox, *op. cit.*, 39.

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"The time has come for the organisation of our party in India .... A revolutionary mass party has to be organised as a part of the Congress, but this party must be under the control and direction of our own party which cannot but be illegal."[38]

The 'front organisation' within Congress eventually took the form of the Workers' and Peasants' Parties. The first was formed originally as the 'Labour Swaraj Party of the Indian National Congress' on 1 January 1925.[39] Indian Communist Muzaffar Ahmad who played a leading role in this party claims[40] that its founders,[41] though influenced by Communism, took their initiative independently of Roy and the Comintern.

The only other major W. & P.P., that of Bombay, emerged when "a group of .... Nationalists, having failed to obtain acceptance of their ideas by the Indian National Congress formed a Workers' and Peasants' Party."[42] This is confirmed by Indian Communist S. V. Ghate's statement before the Sessions Judge in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in which he claimed that the Bombay W. & P.P.'s origin is to be found in what is known as the Congress Labour Group — the left section of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and which transformed itself into a WPP."[43]

However independent of the Comintern the initiators of the W. & P.P.s were,[44] it is clear that Communists played the key rôle

38. Adhikari, *op. cit.*, 593 and 595.

39 'The Report of the Executive Committee of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal, 1927-28', 42. This report is item p. 52 in the *Proceedings of the Meerut Conspiracy Case.* The name of the Labour Swaraj Party was changed first to the 'Peasants' and Workers' Party of Bengal', and later to the 'Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal', Muzafar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India and its Formation Abroad*, 153.

40. *Op. cit.*, 153.

41. Qazi Nazrul Islam, Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, Qutubuddin Ahmad and Shamsuddin Hossain, *ibid.*

42. *White Report on Labour Situation* issued by the Bombay Government, 1929, Appendix B, quoted in Punekar, *Trade Unionism in India*, 93.

43. Quoted in Adhikari, 'Comrade S. V. Ghate', *New Age*, 6 December 1970.

44. That Communists played the key role in forming the Bombay party seems clear from the statement of Mirajkar (a leading Bombay Communist at this time) that "we Communists decided to organise a socialist group

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in these parties. As Ahmad puts it [45] members of the C.P.I. were their "life and soul." Thus the statements of the W. & P.Ps. can be taken as expressing the Indian Communist standpoint during the period immediately after 1925.

In the political resolution of the March 1928 conference of the W. & P.P. of Bengal, the adherence of Indian Communists to a tactical position far from leftism was made clear:

"We and our sympathisers must become members of the provincial and All-Indian Congress Committees, and take active part in such work as leads towards the development of the mass movement. We must suppport the Congress while it fights Imperialism, but must not hesitate to criticise the compromising tendencies of Congress leaders however prominent. The alliance of the Party with the petty-bourgeois 'left' of the Congress must be consolidated, on the basis of direct action for complete independence, against the compromising bourgeois leadership."[46]

In 1928 the chances of such a Communist-Left nationalist alliance with the object of forcing a revolutionary confrontation with the *Raj* appeared good. Jawaharlal Nehru, who "fresh from his internationalist and communist connexions in Europe"[47] had persuaded the 1927 Madras Congress session to pass a number of extreme anti-imperialist resolutions, was merely the most notable of a new generation of prominent Congressmen who, during the fight against the Simon Commission, were to help push Congress towards a degree of militancy not seen since 1921-22.

Thus, of the 1928 Calcutta Congress session, Viceroy Irwin commented:

"There is no doubt that the Congress was a great triumph for extremism .... independence has ceased to be an academic ideal it appears that Jawaharlal Nehru and .... Bose do not mean to

in the Congress itself .... In a few months this group was transformed into the Workers' & Peasants' Party." See his essay in Communist Party of India, *S. V. Ghate*, 33.

45. *Op. cit.*, 154.

46. Workers' and Peasants' Party of Bengal, *A Call to Action*, p. 9.

47. Haig, Secretary to G. of I., Home Dept., to Hirtzel, Under-Secretary of State, 19 January 1928, *L/PJ/6/1955*, 365/28.

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stop at words but are prepared for action .... Their present policy .... is to spend the coming year in preparation for rousing anti-government feeling in every way possible, foster in their own words a revolutionary mentality .... the situation has swung a good deal to the left and contains considerable potentialities of future trouble."[48]

Even Congressmen not of the 'Left' had already indicated their perception of common interest between Indian nationalism and Communism during the Assembly debate on the Public Safety (Removal from India) Bill[49] which "was especially directed" against British Communists, Spratt and Bradley,[50] who had been sent to India to assist the movement there. Thus Lajpat Rai had claimed the Bill was "really directed against Indians themselves, Nationalists as well as Labourites" and that it would be "utilised for the purpose of prosecuting Nationalists and others who want Indian economic advance and political freedom." According to 'Left' Congressman Jamnadas Mehta Communists were "quite prepared to work with [nationalists] in the task of achieving India's independence" and, he said, Congressmen welcomed Communist policy "to that extent."[51] Thus by early 1929 the *Raj* was noting "a tendency for the political and the Communist revolutionaries to join hands."[52]

Such a tendency was one which those concerned with preserving British rule in India were on the alert against. Petrie, head of Indian Intelligence, had in 1927 noted that "the hatred of British rule which animates both will always serve to establish a certain identity of interest between the Indian extremist and

48. Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. 2558), 19 January 1929 *L/PJ/6/1976*, 184/29.

49. The Bill was introduced to provide for the removal from British India in certain cases of persons not being Indian British subjects or subjects of States in India". *L/PJ/6/1967*, 3788/28.

50. Irwin to Hailey (Governor of U.P.) 28 September 1928, *Hailey Collection*, Vol. 13; 494.

51. Official Report of Legislative Assembly Debates, 12 September 1928, 638 and 15 September 1928, 825 in *L/PJ/6/1967*, 4259 & 4260/28.

52. Haig to all local Governments (secret letter No. D342), 21 February 1929, *L/PJ/6/1976*, 792/29. This was reiteration of a view expressed by Irwin in his 19 January 1929 telegram to the Secretary of State (see above footnote 48).

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the Bolshevik agent—predisposing the one to accept assistance and the other to render it."[53]

During the Public Safety Bill debates Home Member Crerar tried to check any tendency for nationalists to make common cause with Communism against Government by quoting from the 'Assembly Letter' such choice passages as:

"The banal and cowardly doctrine of bourgeois nationalism that all our activities are above board, we have nothing to hide."[54]

Crerar attempted to point a lesson:

"No one can suppose .... that any form of Nationalism in India or elsewhere will profit by [Communist doctrines] .... I contend and I contend very strongly that in this matter the interests of India and of Britain are identical."[55]

One especial fear was that Communism, which at this time seemed to be "a movement which acts so powerfully on the masses" would not be ignored, for "the immediate assistance they may derive" from it, by "those Nationalists who for the attainment of their ends look to the sanction of force."[56] Whilst Communism was felt to be "one of the most dangerous forms of direct appeal to the masses," the extremist leaders had, Government believed, "hitherto achieved no appreciable success with the masses."[57]

The source of these astounding testimonials of the potency of Communism as a force to mobilise the masses was its significant

53. G. of I., *India and Communism*, (hereinafter referred to as '*India & Communism*'), 23.

54. This letter was alleged to have been written by Roy to Muzaffar Ahmad and intercepted by the police, *ibid.*, 130...In August 1928 the Raj decided it would be desirable to "publish material about Communist plans", and "M. N. Roy's letter" was "an important part of that material", Viceroy to Secretary of State, (tel. No. 499-S), 11 August 1928, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 9, 136. The letter became known as the 'Assembly Letter' after Crerar's use of it in this debate. 'Roy' was referring here to the necessity for illegal Communist Party organisation.

55. Official Report of Legislative Assembly Debates, 10 September 1928, 448 in *L/PJ/6/1967*, 4259/28.

56. Haig's secret letter No. D 342, see above 52.

57. Haig to all local Governments (secret letter No. D. 342/29), 24 June 1929, *L/PJ/6/1976*, 2585/29.

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advance among the Bombay proletariat in 1927–29. Up to this time Communism had made such little progress in this city, which was one of the two major centres of Communist activity,[58] that Wilson, Governor of Bombay since 1923, could speak in 1928 (not without exaggeration however) of the "Communist element" as "making now, so far as Bombay is concerned, its first most unwelcome appearance."[59]

The Communists' advance took place because they provided the most effective leadership of millhands faced with the adverse consequence to their living standards of the "very bad"[60] economic situation in their industry.

With the end of boom conditions in 1922, the industry had "entered .... a period of fundamental difficulties," since "steadily expanding competition from Japanese producers and mills elsewhere in India forced considerable readjustment and adaptation during the next decade and a half."[61] In 1927 the Tariff Board, after examining the industry's request for production, had told it that "because of the weakened competitive position of the Bombay mills the 'only alternative to a reduction in wages is increased labour efficiency'" and "recommended greater standardisation of work and more rational labour deployment."[62]

However when the millowners tried to introduce the new recommended methods which, as Rainy (member of the Viceroy's Executive Council) put it, were "likely to result in reduction of numbers emloyed"[63] a five and a half month strike ensued.[64]

58. See the testimony of Irwin in Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 927-S), 27 February 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 15, 52, and Petrie to Hailey (Confidential Letter No. 16/Bol 29-Kw-IV), *Hailey Collection*, Vol. 16a, 44. The other centre was Calcutta.

59. Wilson to Irwin, 12 May 1928, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 22, 432.

60. Wilson to Irwin, 28 April 1928, Halifax Collection, Vol. 22, 408.

61. M. D. Morris, *The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India*, 30.

62. *Ibid.*, 121-2.

63. Telegram to Irwin, 26 April 1928, enclosure in Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 135-C), 28 April 1928, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 9, 66.

64. Sykes Governor of Bombay to Irwin, 26 January 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol.-23, 112b.

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The Bombay Communists, gaining from the trade-union experience and moral support from the activities[65] of British Communist Bradley, found it easy to win leadership of the millhands from the 'moderate' union leaders 'who for years had failed to secure the establishment of a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the employers towards the workmen."[66] The impact of the Communist organisation of the Bombay labour movement is implied in the observation[67] that "until 1928" the "qualities characteristic of virtually all strikes" were "unrest without discipline" and "strike without organisation."[68]

Nor were such Communist efforts confined to the Bombay mills. According to British Intelligence, "[by] the end of 1928 .... there was hardly a single public utility service or industry which had not been affected, in whole or in part, by the wave of Communism which swept the country during the year."[69] Moreover by April 1928 the Communists had "not only secured a voice in the control of the [labour] movement, but had obtained—particularly in Bombay — a definite hold over the workers themselves."[70] In the course of the 1928 textile strike the famous *Girni Kamgar Union* was formed with Communist leadership. In a few months its registered membership climbed from 174 to 54,000.[71] As Bradley wrote in an intercepted letter of 2 February 1929, "the mill workers .... are with the G.K.U. .... We have .... got the support of the workers to such an extent that even

65. *Ibid.*

66. This the estimate of B. N. Mitra, member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a note of 16 April 1930, enclosure in Viceroy to Secretary of State, 23 April 1930, *Halifax Collection*, Vol 6, 85. Irwin minuted: "I think the views he expressed are generally sound", *ibid*, 81.

67. *Morris, op. cit.*, 182.

68. This is confirmed by the Raj's Intelligence Bureau which observed "the enormous increase in the influence and powers of organisation of the working classes under Communist direction" (the references was to India in general, though to Calcutta in particular) in this period, *India & Communism*, 127.

69. *Ibid.*, 126.

70. *Ibid.*, 117.

71. See union membership records in *L/E/7/1347*, 1827/30 and 1693/30. Though the reliability of these actual figures may not be great there is no doubt that the order of the membership rise is correct.

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N. M. Joshi[72] told me he thought to be impossible, well over 60,000 members and a big fighting fund."[73]

Thus by December 1928 participation in the national movement, along with the British Communist-supported[74] initiative in assuming a key position in the labour movement, had placed Indian Communism on the crest of a wave. Their policy towards nationalism had helped create for the C.P.I. a rewarding situation in which leading Bombay journals such as the *Bombay Chronicle* were displaying "pro-communist sympathies" and setting up "the Soviet regime of Russia as an attractive alternative to British Rule" since it was "vaguely imagined in extreme nationalist circles that because the Communists desire to destroy the foundations of British power .... therefore their doctrines are to be encouraged in India."[75] Moreover, Communists had come to hold positions of importance in Congress, getting themselves elected to the A.I.C.C.[76] and controlling the Bombay Porvincial Congress Committee.[77]

The turn of the year in fact, saw three notable successes for Indian Communism. At the Jharia session of the All-India Trade Union Congress in December 1928, the affiliation of the A.I.T.U.C. to the League against Imperialism was achieved when the *Raj*

72. A long standing 'moderate' union leader, C.W.

73. Quoted in Peel to Irwin, 27 February 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 5, 43.

74. Philip Spratt and Ben Bradley were the two main foreign Communists operating in India at this time.

75. Note by Coatman, Director of Public Information: enclosure with Irwin to Lambert, Governor of U.P., 23 March 1929, *Hailey Collection*, Vol. 15a, 35. This estimate of the favourable attitude to Communism shown by important sections of the nationalist press (even to the extent of reprinting articles from *Inprecor*, organ of the Comintern) is supported by G. of I. *Communism in India*, 27 and 39.

76. *India & Communism*, 127 and Ahmad, *Communist Party of India: Years of Formation*, 41.

77. See for example Mirajkar's essay on Communist Party of India, *op. cit.*, 33, in which he states that at one stage the Communists had a majority on the B.P.C.C. and also held the secretaryship. Communist control of the B.P.C.C. at this time is confirmed in a speech by S. K. Patil on 24 March 1931, in Report of Commissioner of Police, Bombay, No. 1633/H/3717 25 March 1931, *L/PJ/7/78*, 1847/31

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again promoted cooperation between Communists and non-Communists by arresting the fraternal delegate from the League to the A.I.T.U.C. session. According to Irwin the delegates voted for affiliation in a "moment of pique"[78] and the capture of the A.I.T.U.C. by the militants (among whom the Communists were a compact, well-disciplined group,[79]) was only "narrowly averted."[80]

In the same month 30,000 labourers organised by the Calcutta Communists and with banners demanding a Soviet India made a big impact on the annual Congress session.[81] Moreover, in January four candidates in the Bombay municipal elections, representing the first time Communists had participated in any Indian election, and pressing as one of their demands complete independence, polled a respectable total of 12,453 votes.[82]

Even so, Communist success had been registered almost solely in the labour movement via Communist-dominated unions such as the G.K.U. and in the political movement via the W. & P.Ps., and 'united front' tactics had tended to become a substitute for the task of organising a strong independent C.P.I., instead of these being seen as complementary tasks as laid down by Lenin in 1920. Clemens Dutt, Indian Communism's mentor at this time, had complained that the C.P.I. and W. & P.P. were "becoming too much two names for the same thing."[83] In fact, practically all

78. Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 1021-S), 8 March 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 15, 57.

79. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, 154.

80. 8 March 1929 telegram, Viceroy to Secretary of State, see above, footnote 1.

81. *India & Communism*, 127; 19 January 1929 telegram, Viceroy to Secretary of State (see above, 14); Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India*, 433.

82. Roy, 'Indian Communists in the Electoral Struggle', *Inprecor*, No. 12, 202, 1 March 1929. Roy pointed out that although the electorate excluded almost the whole working-class, the Communists polled only a little less than what would have been the average vote per candidate if the whole electorate (of 600,000) had voted and the votes shared equally between the 145 candidates. Two of the Communists were beaten by the only 146 and 227 votes, being at the head of the unsuccessful candidates in their respective districts.

83. *India & Communism*, 129.

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aetivity was undertaken through the W. & P.P.,[84] so that in 1929 Irwin could justly say that in India there was "no regular communist party on lines of British organisation of that name."[85] Such neglect was to assume significance in the period of the turn towards leftism heralded by the Sixth Comintern Congress.[86]

Like Roy's leftism of 1920, the new leftism originated in an over-estimation of the degree of political development of the colonial proletariat, resulting in sectarian emphasis on the development of the Communist movement in contradiction to the need to cultivate cooperation with bourgeois nationalism. In view of the widely-known criticism of Roy's position in 1920 it was hardly possible for the new leftism to take the form of the simple straight denial of common interest between the Communist and national movements Roy had made then. Instead a fresh theoretical basis was sought for the new leftism.

That the national bourgeoisie tended to become less resolute towards the bourgeois revolution as the proletariat became a political factor of increasing importance was a firmly-established Marxist contention. The new leftism argued however that the development of the colonial proletariat had recently occurred at such a pace, within a wider revolutionary mass movement, that the national bourgeoisie was abandoning the revolution altogether and becoming counter-revolutionary. From such an analysis the conclusion was drawn that proletarian hegemony in the revolution was on the agenda since the bourgeoisie was finally revealing its betrayal of that revolution to the peasant and petty-bourgeois masses.

The period of the 1928 (Sixth) Comintern Congress saw the first moves towards such a position by the international Communist movement. Before the Congress, which began in July, the Draft Pro-

84. Thus although the four candidates in the Bombay election were said by Roy to be well-known as Communists, they contested the election in the name of the W. & P. P. See Roy's article in *Inprecor*, 1 March 1929, above, 19.

85. Viceroy to Secretary of State (tel. No. 1176-S), 22 March 1929, *Halfiax Collection*, Vol. 15, 61.

86. An investigation of the complex of factors which resulted in this turn to leftism is beyond the scope of this article.

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gramme of the Communist International,[87] declared that the "revolutionary tendency" in the colonies was being "temporarily paralysed .... by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie" which had become "scared by the revolutionary-mass movement." Their "rapprochement with the imperialist powers" was said to lead in the final analysis to "the decline of national bourgeoisie influence among the masses of the people .... and to the creation of favourable conditions for establishing the hegemony of the colonial proletariat in the popular mass struggle for independence."

But if the colonial bourgeoisie was playing such a treacherous role with regard to national liberation, how was it that for the first time the largest party of the Indian bourgeoisie, Congress, under the influence of its growing left-wing had, at its Madras session adopted a resolution for complete independence? A pre-Sixth Congress report[88] interpreted this as "a pseudo-revolutionary formula to be used as a 'threat' against the British government to extract concessions." Taking into consideration "the increased political development of the broad masses" the bourgeoisie was merely playing with revolutionary phrases "for the purpose of getting nearer" to them and "utilising their revolutionary orientation for its reformist policy."[89]

Thus leftism had led the Comintern to interpret a real advance of the I.N.C. towards revolutionary confrontation with the *Raj* as a grave menace to the future of the Indian revolution. The bourgeoisie was striving to divert the revolutionary energies of the masses into reformist channels, the improvement of its own position under continued imperialist rule. This scheming bourgeoisie was "so particularly dangerous" because, although they had "not yet finally passed the counter-revolutionary camp," there was "no doubt that they would do so "later on" and meanwhile "their real physiognomy" had "not yet been exposed" in the eyes

87. Adopted by the Programme Commission of the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International). It appeared in *Inprecor*, No. 30, 551-63, 6 June 1928.

88. Communist Party of Great Britain, *The Communist International between the Fifth and the Sixth World Congresses, 1924-28*, 'Report up to 1 May 1928'. This was intended as a pre-Congress discussion document. Referred to hereinafter as 'the pre-Congress report'.

89. *Ibid.*, 466-476.

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of the masses. Unless this was achieved "bourgeois national-reformist leadership of the national movement" in the coming revolutionary upsurge would "represent an enormous danger for the revolution."[90]

The vehicle for such reformist corruption of the revolutionary drive of the masses had been identified by the pre-Congress report as "the Left nationalist elements composed of the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia" whom the bourgeoisie tried to keep under their influence by means of "the independence slogan." By keeping the leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie in its hands, the bourgeoisie was trying "to establish a connection with the upper strata of the proletariat and the peasantry which it hopes to draw into its struggle."[91] It was therefore a task of the C.P.I. "to carry on a consistent struggle against petty-bourgeois influence over the proletariat, employ all means to liberate the backward masses of the peasantry from the influence of the petty-bourgeois parties and to win from them the hegemony over the peasantry."[92]

Of course in 1920 Lenin had established the necessity for Communists to combat bourgeois reformist tendencies in national movements. However the Comintern was now to advocate that this should be done in India by dissolving the one organisation through which Communists had registered their most notable successes in the political movement.

Thus the Colonial Theses deemed it "absolutely essential" for colonial Communist Parties to "from the very beginning *demarcate themselves in the most clear-cut fashion,* both politically and organisationally, from all the petty-bourgeois groups and parties."[93] However the Comintern had already made clear its estimate that the "petty-bourgeois origin of the W.P.Ps." of India had made itslef "very much felt in the composition of the parties as well as in their programmes and activity."[94] Consequently, the Colonial

90. 'Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies', adopted at the Sixth Comintern Congress and published in *Inprecor*, No. 88, 1668, 12 December 1928.
91. Communist Party of Great Britain, *op. cit.*, 466-476.
92. Colonial Theses, *Inprecor, op. cit.*, 1669.
93. *Ibid.*, 1668.
94. Communist Party of Great Britain, *op. cit.*, 466-476.

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Theses concluded that, "Special 'Workers' and Peasants' Parties' whatever revolutionary character they may possess, can too easily, at particular periods, be converted into ordinary petty-bourgeois parties, and accordingly, Communists are not recommended to organise such parties."[95]

Such suicidal defensiveness in the face of the 'petty-bourgeois danger' may seem strange in view of the sanguine Comintern estimate of the degree to which the colonial proletariat had progressed as a political force.[96] However, certainly in India's case, the Comintern was well aware of the weakness of the Communist Party itself at that time.[97] Past neglect of Communist organisation may therefore have been a factor in the Comintern's leftist attack on the W. & P.P.s. However, whatever the reasons, the tendency had reappeared for the task of working within the national movement to be seen as contradictory instead of complementary to that of nurturing the C.P.I.

Moreover, work through the W. & P.P. was not the only C.P.I. activity to be threatened by the Sixth Congress's leftism: the fruitful trade-union work was also placed in jeopardy. Although the Colonial Theses had made "obligatory" Communist work in "the reactionary trade-unions which contain masses of workers," the only type of work specified was "revolutionary propaganda work." The seeds of the later C.P.I. tendency to use unions for revolutionary aims abstracted from the struggle to deal with workers' immediate grievances lay in such advice. Moreover, the Theses went on to say that in "those countries where circumstances dictate the necessity for creating special revolutionary trade-unions .... it is necessary to consult on this question with the leadership of the R.I.L.U."[98]

95. *Op. cit.*, 1669.

96. See, for example, 'Before the Sixth Congress of the Comintern', *Inprecor*, No. 31, 566, 7 June 1928 which claimed that the "Indian working class" was "undoubtedly the most important factor" in the "new upsurge in the national movement".

97. Thus the pre-Congress report, *op. cit.*, 466-476, had spoken of the Party's inability "to develop into a general Communist Party" and its failure to "show any signs of revolutionary vitality in connection with very important events".

98. *Op. cit.*, 1669, R.I.L.U. was the 'Red International of Labour Unions.'

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However, R.I.L.U. chief Lozovsky had specifically advised that in the case of India, where the "national bourgeoisie" was "always ready to compromise with the British bourgoisie *against the toiling masses*" and "nationalists and home-made reformists" were "at the head of labour organisations," the Communists' main task was the "establishment of *independent labour organisaions.*"[99] Lozovsky thus used the new Comintern characterisation of the national bourgeoisie as a force moving rapidly towards collaboration with imperialism against the mass movement as justification for his injunction to Indian Communists to adopt sectarian tactics which were to spell disaster in the labour movement.

The first sign of the C.P.I.'s application of the new leftist line came in December during the first all-India conference of the W. & P.P.[100] The thesis the conference adopted spoke of the "consolidation of the whole bourgeois class, on the basis of .... the complete acceptance of imperialism .... into a single reactionary *bloc*" and of the "divergence between the masses and the bourgeoisie" as having "sharpened decisively." The conclusion drawn was that the policy of the W.P.P. working as "a section of the Congress" could "no longer be the situation." At the same time the "traditional policy of forming fractions within Congress organisations for the purpose of agitation, of exposing its reactionary leadership and of drawing the revolutionary sections towards the W.P.P." was recommended as a temporary measure. This was necessary because firstly, the Congress, though "under bourgeois leadership" and "a petty-bourgeois following including different social strata and different political tendencies, some of a potentially revolutionary nature," and secondly, because the W.P.P. was still "relatively weak and unorganised in the country."[101] The Comintern might well

99. Discussion on Kusinen's report on 'The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies', 37th session of the Sixth Congress, *Inprecor*, No. 76, 1414, 30 October 1928.

100. Spratt (*Blowing up India*, 43) claims that in preparing the theses for this conference he took into account what he understood the new Comintern line to be on the basis of press reports.

101. 'The Political Situation in India', Thesis of the W.P.P. adopted at the A.I.W.P.P. conference, Calcutta, December 21-24, 1928, reprinted in *Labour Monthly*, Vol. 11, No. 3, March 1929, 154.

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have proffered these as reasons for immediate W.P.P. withdrawal from Congress.[102]

Of course the very formation of an all-India W.P.P. contravened the injunction against the organisation of such parties. Probably the experienced leaders of the Indian Communists were wary of embracing untempered leftism. Thus it seems significant that a meeting of the leadership after the W.P.P. conference decided[103] that the Comintern's Colonial Thesis "should be taken up as a basis" but "changed according to the conditions of India." No doubt this apparent disposition partially to resist Comintern advice was encouraged by opposition displayed to the new line by Communists holding positions of special influence with the C.P.I.: the British Communists and Roy.

British Communist opposition, especially to the line on the W.P.Ps., had been publicised in the *Inprecor* reports of the Sixth Congress.[104] But whether or not *these* reached India at this time, it seems established that British advice in contradiction to the Comintern line *did*. Thus in November 1928, one of the important Indian communists was advised by Clemens Dutt to recruit more workers to the W.P.P.[105]

Roy had for some time ceased to be responsible for guiding the C.P.I. Even so his influence on it was probably still significant in late 1928—early 1929. Between 24 August 1928 and 1 February 1929, six articles by Roy in which he maintained a position differing in important respects from the Comintern line appeared in *Inprecor*. Moreover Ahmad claims that Adhikari, one of the C.P.I. leaders "made no secret of the fact that" he returned to India "as

102. Indeed the pre-Sixth Congress report had said that the "W.P.P. cannot develop into a party of mass national-revolutionary struggle unless it emancipates itself entirely from the influence of bourgeois politics" and that the "main weak point of the W.P.P. is that, in practice, it is acting more as a Left-wing of the Congress than as an independent political party", *op. cit.*, 466-476.

103. According to notes made by one of the participants and later found by the police, quoted in Overstreet & Windmiller, *op. cit.*, 134.

104. See, for example, Clemens Dutt's speech in *op. cit.* No. 76, 1424, 30 October 1928, and Declaration of Rothstein, *op. cit.*, No .81, 1529, 21 November 1928.

105. Overstreet & Windmiller, *op. cit.*, 129.

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M. N. Roy's representative,"[106] and it may be significant that though Roy had been censured at the Sixth Congress Adhikari claimed in a letter to him (15 March 1929), "Nobody here is making any propaganda against you."[107]

Whatever the truth about the exact attitude of the C.P.I. leadership to the Comintern line at this time, it is a recorded fact that even at their next meeting in March 1929 no decision to dissolve the W.P.P. was taken.[108]

Any possibility of the C.P.I. avoiding leftism was effectively ended however by the events of the next few months.

On 20 March 1929 almost the whole leadership was arrested and charged with conspiracy.[109] One of the chief objects was to behead the movement by including all leaders "of any account .... in the case."[110] The C.P.I. found the task of adequately replacing them one of great difficulty, no doubt largely because of the "neglect of the Party during the palmy days of 1928."[111] Even in Bombay, where, exceptionally, "other leaders of much the same type"[112] replaced the arrested men, they were, not surprisingly, inexperienced and young and not likely to discern the dangers of the developing leftism to be pressed on the C.P.I. with increasing vigour during 1929.

106. *Myself and the Communist Party of India*, 454. Adhikari had been in Germany. Ahmad adds that Adhikari "got over his illusions .... about Manabendranath Roy", *ibid.*, 455.

107. Quoted in Overstreet & Windmiller, *op. cit.*, 133.

108. This according to notes made at the meeting by a participant. Mentioned in *ibid.*, 134.

109. *India & Communism*, 135. The case against them was to become famous as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. The action had been recommended as far back as August 1928 (Peel to Irwin, 17 January 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 5, 11) but the material for the case took months to collect.

110. Viceroy to Secretary of State, (tel. No. 257-S), *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 15, 23. The net was thrown so widely that the Governor of Bengal noted: "The arrest of K. L. Ghose .... has caused *us* some surprise. Even Tegart [Commissioner of Police] tells me he hardly expected his name to be on the list. He classified him as 10% Communist, not more. However, if he is tinged to this extent, perhaps he might as well be included with the others". Jackson to Irwin, 23 March 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 23, 302.

111. *India & Communism*, 180.

112. Haig, secret letter No. D-342/29 of 24 June 1929 (see above, 16).

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At the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in July the leftism of the Sixth Congress was pushed to greater extremes. The general consensus[113] was that the Indian bourgeoisie had finally become counter-revolutionary[114] and that the "real national-liberation movement in India was represented not by the last bourgeois-national congress but by the proletarian mass demonstration *against* this national congress.[115] Lozovsky spelled out the implications by remarking that since the Indian bourgeoisie was "concentrating now on struggle against Communism" the Sixth Congress decision that temporary agreements with that class might be permissible[116] no longer held. Rather should the C.P.I. adopt "an uncompromising attitude: *no agreement whatever, ruthless struggle against the Indian bourgeoisie,* because this is now the only way to educate and weld together our still feeble Indian Communist Party."[117]

The line was now clear. The advance of the revolution and the C.P.I. was to occur via assault against the bourgeoisie and the Congress. There was now no longer any question of working within that body to strengthen a revolutionary against a reformist tendency; Congress as an organisation was written off as counter-revolutionary. Not surprisingly therefore the Plenum complained about the continued existence of the W.P.P.[118]

Moreover from mid-1929 there was no question of support for any possible deviation from the Comintern line from any source within the international movement. The British Communist posi-

113. Shubin, a current expert on India, attempted to have some of the more extreme formations moderated but was apparently a lone voice. See his contribution to the discussion on the reports of Kuusinen and Manuilsky, *Inprecor*, No. 51, 1095, 17 September 1929.

114. See 'Theses on the International Situation and the Immediate Tasks of the Communist International', *Inprecor* No. 46, 975, 4 September 1929 and discussion contribution of Lot-In, *Inprecor*, No. 51, 1073, 9 July 1929.

115. 'Report of Kuusinen', *Inprecor*, No. 40, 846, 20 August 1929.

116. See Colonial Theses adopted at the Sixth Congress, *Inprecor*, No. 88, 1668, 12 December 1928.

117. Lozovsky's discussion contribution, *Inprecor*, No. 48, 1038.

118. See Lozovsky, *op. cit.*, 1038 and Shubin, *op. cit.*, 1097. In fact although the W.P.P. formally still existed, its existence as a body of any real importance had ended with the Meerut arrests. Certainly it undertook no work within Congress after March 1929.

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tion on India had changed, with the W.P.P. now seen as no longer fulfilling "the needs of the proletariat".[119] Roy continued strongly to oppose the new leftism and the writing-off of Congress, but had been publicly denounced at the Plenum as a Menshevik[120] and as no longer a "comrade".[121]

Under these circumstances the C.P.I. was led further towards leftism by the new leadership. The strong position that had been built up in the labour movement suffered first.

Believing that they stood at the head of "the growing revolutionary movement" as they had been told by Kuusinen,[122] and that in the past they had "lagged far behind the sentiments of the broad massess",[123] the Indian Communists sought to convert strikes into revolutionary confrontations with Government regardless of the real state of readiness for struggle of the workers. Thus, when in April 1930, sharp discontent appeared among Calcutta carters at new rules imposed on their businesses by Government, Communist leaders of their union vainly called for a general strike by the city's workers.[124]

Such tactics virtually destroyed the C.P.I.'s great achievement of 1928, the powerful G.K.U. In April 1929 the new leadership launched the Bombay millhands into an 'anti-victimisation' struggle which Kuusinen[125] described as a "political strike" which was "the revolutionary answer" of the millhands to imperialist machination. In their revolutionary fervour the inexperienced Communist leadership of the G.K.U. had chosen an unfavourable time for

119. C. Dutt, 'The Class Struggle in India', *Labour Monthly*, Vol. 11, No. 7, July 1929, 408.

120. By Lozovscky, *op. cit.*, 1038.

121. Interjections by delegates during Kuusinen's speech, *op. cit.*, 846. In fact according to a statement in *Inprecor*, No. 69, 1470, 13 December 1929, the Plenum had resolved to expel Roy from the Comintern although this was not publicly known in July 1929.

122. In his Tenth Plenum report, *op. cit.*, 846.

123. P. Sch. (*sic.*, P. Schubin or Shubin), 'The Conferenec of the Workers' & Peasants' Party of India', *Inprecor*, No. 16, 319, 29 March 1929.

124. Tegart to Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, 1 April 1930, *L/PJ/6/2000*, 1974/30, and 9-11 April 1930, *L/PJ/6/2000*, 2987/30.

125. In his Tenth Plenum report, *op. cit.*, 846.

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the millhands, exhausted by the 1928 struggle[126] to strike.[127] In September the strike was called off with no success for the workers.[128] The result was a slump of the G.K.U. to a few hundred members [129] and the workers "left in a mood of distrust of any leaders."[130]

The precipitous C.P.I. decline in the trade-union movement was accelerated by their growing isolation in it. This in turn was the outcome of their sectarianism which promoted splits in the movement.

At the December 1929 Nagpur session of the A.I.T.U.C. the 'moderate' leaders split away to form their own federation[131] leaving the Communists and nationalists to share control of the weakened parent body. A 'moderate,' Shiva Rao, claimed[132] that "a message from Moscow, dated 12th June 1929" had instructed the C.P.I. "to get rid of" the 'moderate' leaders "and Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose" (presumably from the leadership of the A.I.T.U.C.). Rao claimed that the message was published in the newspaper of a Communist-led union[133] and that the editor,[134] Ranadive, had "confessed" that this was so.

126. According to a pro-Communist journalist of this period M. G. Desai, one of the Communists arrested in March 1929 (Dange) had advised the millhands against a protest strike because of the weakened state the 1928 strike had left them in. 'Some Anecdotes of the Meerut Conspiracy Case', *New Age*, 5 October 1969, 9.

127. Meerut prisoner S. S. Mirajkar was, much later, to assess the 1929 strike as "uncalled for", *Communist Party of India*, *op. cit.*, 39.

128. *Annual Report on the Working of the Trade Disputes Act, 1929, for the Bombay Presidency for the period ending 31/12/29*, Government of Bombay 1930, in *L/E/8/47*, 6012/30.

129. Morris, *op. cit.*, 184-5.

130. Note by Mitra, 16 April 1930, see above, 17.

131. *India & Communalism*, 159-60.

132. In a letter sent by Major Graham Pole to Secretary of State Benn, enclosure in Benn to Irwin, 15 January 1930, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 6, 16.

133. *The Railwayman*, organ of the Great Indian Peninsula Railwaymen's Union

134. Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department to Secretary to G. of I., Home Department (Political), (letter No. SD-1897), 9 November 1929 in *P/76*, 483.

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Rao's allegations seem likely to be correct in view of the Comintern attitude to the Indian trade-union movement at this time. In July for example, H. Eidus had alleged that since the 'moderates' were "losing their hold on the labour movement, the Indian bourgeoisie" was "endeavouring to make use of other agents .... the 'Left' nationalists."[135]

Even so, the Communists had not aimed to split the A.I.T.U.C. Rao noted that:

"They were confident that, even if we were defeated and removed from our place on the Executive, we would, under no circumstances, go out of the Congress."[136]

But though the Communists tried to heal the rift by withdrawing a motion offensive to the "moderates' (for affiliation to the P.P.T.U.S.) in face of no opposition and by throwing out hints that other such resolutions might be withdrawn if the 'moderates' would return,[137] they failed. By their own unwise extremist tactics of all-out offensive not against the employers but against 'their social-reformist agents,' the C.P.I. had given the 'moderates' "every pretext to depart."[138]

Communist tactics of at all costs fighting to wrest control of the unions from the hands of the 'agents of the bourgeoisie', whether 'moderate' or nationalist, led after Nagpur to a protracted battle with the latter culminating in a further split in the A.I.T.U.C. at the Calcutta session of July 1931.

The C.P.I. by its leftist opposition to Congress provided its nationalist opponents in the struggle for the unions with allies, the Royists. After his expulsion from the Comintern, Roy was determined to combat its leftism by trying "to capture the Indian Communist movement" which he hoped would "enable him to make

135. 'The Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Secretariat and the Indian Trade Union Movement', *Inprecor*, No. 34, 734, 19 July 1929. The Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Secretariat, P.P.T.U.S., was "the directive agency in the Far East of the Profintern [R.I.L.U.]" according to *India & Communism*, 60.

136. *Loc. cit.*

137. *Ibid.*

138. This was the opinion of the Nagpur A.I.T.U.C. session of President Jawaharlal Nehru, *Autobiography*, 199.

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his own terms" with the Comintern.[139] During 1930 Roy sent lieutenants to India in pursuance of this aim, finally arriving himself in December.[140]

A key target was the Communist-led unions, and by early 1931 the Royists were in control of the G.K.U.[141] This was a period when not the unity of the trade-union movement but Communist leadership of it became of first importance[142] to the C.P.I., some of whose members, according to later Comintern critique, in tending "towards sectarianism" refused "to fight for the masses" and were thus unable "to isolate the national-reformist leaders and draw the rank and file over to the Communists' side."[143] The result in fact was often the isolation of the C.P.I. union leaders in what were virtually 'paper' unions existing parallel to unions led by the nationalist-Royist alliance. As the Meerut prisoners were to admit in a mid-1932 memorandum, nearly all the Communist-led unions passed into the hands of the Royists and their allies.[144]

Not surprisingly therefore the Communist A.I.T.U.C. secretary Deshpande, anticipating the removal of Commmunists from leading positions in the organisation, prevented the scheduled annual session from convening in February 1931.[145] When the session was eventually held in July, impending defeat for the Communists in the struggle for control of the organisation led to their seceding to form the "Red A.I.T.U.C."[146] which according to their main nationalist opponent at this session did not subsequently show

139. *India & Communism*, 162.
140. *Ibid.*, 162 and 164.
141. *Ibid.*, 164.
142. Thus an 'Open Letter from the Pan-Pacific Trade-Union Secretariat to the Indian Proletariat' (*Inprecor*, No. 58, 1215, 18 December 1930) told the C.P.I. that the "establishment of *Revolutionary Trade Unions*" was "of extreme importance" and that these "*Red Trade Unions*" would "affiliate with the A.I.T.U.C." only after it had "been purged of all extreme Right elements".
143. 'A Few Facts of History', (unsigned) *Inprecor*, No. 10, 278, 16 February, 1934.
144. *India & Communism*, 182.
145. *Ibid.*, 161.
146. *Ibid.*

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"much sign of activity except occasionally in Bombay and in Calcutta."[147]

But leftism adversely affected C.P.I. fortunes in the political as well as the trade-union field.

In the early 1920s Indian Communists had looked forward to a repetition of the type of situation that had arisen during the non-cooperation movement, a situation they believed would be ripe for a national rising against imperialism given the one great desideratum of 1920–22, the existence of a revolutionary party like the C.P.I.[148]

On the eve of the civil disobedience movements the prospects for a spectacular advance of both the national revolution and the C.P.I. appeared bright. The foundations of the Raj were such that Petrie claimed that "while the executive authorities had, with difficulty, withstood the non-cooperation movement ... the *authority of Government and its officers had since definitely been weakened,*"[149] whilst Under Secretary of State Hirtzel spoke of "British rule" having lost "a sufficient amount of poiltical support to enable the King's government to be carried on."[150]

As far as Congress was concerned C.P.I. participation in the impending movement would certainly have been welcomed. Nationalist sympathy for the Meerut prisoners was manifest[151] and

147. Bose, *op. cit.*, 233. This estimate was no doubt correct. The Comintern later admitted that the sectarian trade-union policy of this period "led to the strengthening of the position of the bourgeoisie and their agents". (V. Basak, 'The Present Situation in India', *Inprecor*, No. 39, 853, 8 September 1933).

148. This was Roy's belief expressed in an issue of his journal, *The Vanguard*. See G. of I., *Communism in India*, 72.

149. Record of proceedings of a conference of 16 December 1929 in Secretary to G. of I., Home Department. Political to Chief Secretary to Government of Bengal (letter No. D. 3947 Poll.), 31 December 1929, *L/PJ/6/1994*, 229/30. Stress as in file copy.

150. Minute on letter D-o No. 315-P.A., H. W. Emerson (giving views of Punjab Government on political situation) to Haig, 3 January 1930, *L/PJ/6/1995*, 373/30.

151. Motilal Nehru had taken the offensive against the Government on this issue from the start (Viceroy to Secretary of State, [tel. No. 1161-S/1162-S], 21 March 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 15, 60) whilst both he and Jawaharlal helped organise a Meerut Prisoners' Defence Committee (Nanda, *The Nehrus*, 311).

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Gandhi invited Indian Communists to cooperate with him in his plans for 1930.[152] Of course the C.P.I. had been seriously weakened by the Meerut arrests. Even so in July 1929 the India Office could still make the assessment that the "revolutionary and communist organisations are by no means finished with" and express the belief that they "would instantly join in, if any general campaign were once let loose by the (presumably) responsible Congress leaders, and it is for that reason that the Congress programme is potentially so dangerous."[153] Moreover the strongest base of the C.P.I., Bombay, was to become "the storm centre" of the civil disobedience movement.[154]

In the event, because of its leftism, the C.P.I. was unable to grasp its opportunity. Belief in the irretrievable 'counter-revolutionary' character of Congress had led Indian Communists to see the Lahore independence resolution as a "revolutionary mask for the bourgeois leadership" and the subsequent movement as a "shamfight."[155] Since the general Communist estimate was that Congress was heading the mass movement against imperialism in order to disorganise it and drive it to defeat[156] it was concluded that "the most urgent task of the Indian Communists" was "to expose .... the real significance of the tactics of the Nationalist leaders."[157] Moreover since the main exponents of the policy of

152. This was, apparently, the testimony of Meerut prisoner Ghate, see Communist Party of India, *op. cit.*, 108.

153. 16 July 1929 minute of R. T. Peel, Principal, Public & Judicial Dept., on Haig's secret letter No. D-342/29, 24 June 1929, see above, 16.

154. Government of India to Secretary of State, (tel. 1010), 18 April 1932, *L/PJ/7/303*, 2074/32.

155. 'Resolution of the All-India Anti-Imperialist League on the General Political Situation and the Tasks of the League adopted at the All-India Anti-Imperialist League Conference convened in Bombay 24 October 1930 to establish the League. The formation of this body had been urged by the International Secretariat of the League against Imperialism in an 'Open Letter to the Lahore Session of Congress', since, it said, "the Congress cannot be regarded as an instrument for prosecuting an uncompromising struggle against imperialism", *Inprecor*, No. 71, 1499, 27 December 1929.

156. C. Dutt, 'The Indian National Revolution', *Labour Monthly*, Vol. 12, No. 6, June 1930, 324.

157. V. Chattopadhyaya, 'Increased Revolutionary Activity in India', *Inprecor*, No. 41, 854, 4 September 1930.

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a 'revolutionary mask' for Congress were Left. nationalists like Nehru and Bose, their tactics constituted the "most harmful and dangerous obstacle to the victory of the Indian revolution" and the 'exposure of the left Congress leaders" become "the primary task" of the C.P.I.[158]

With such a perspective the C.P.I's political practice during the crucial months of civil disobedience conformed to the estimate that "the *real struggle*" was "*not between the Congress and British imperialism but between the Congress and the Indian revolutionary movement.*"[159] The C.P.I. therefore not only tended "to regard the whole anti-imperialist movement of 1930-31 as a purely Congress movement and to remain aloof from it"[160] but actually clashed with Congress at times during 1930. The most famous incident occurred at the Bombay Independence Day celebrations which were terminated by a C.P.I.-led invasion of the Congress platform resulting in a scuffle and the forcible hoisting of the red flag alongside the Congress flag.[161] However the initial failure of the key Bombay proletariat significantly to participate in the civil disobedience movement,[162] no doubt partly due to C.P.I. policy,

158. 'Draft Platform of Action' of the C.P.I., *Indian Communsit Party Documents,* 3-12. This document appeared first in December 1930 and received "wide circulation throughout India", *India & Communism,* 170.

159. V. Chattopadhyaya, 'The Indian National Congress against Revolutionary Development', *Inprecor,* No. 50, 1036, 6 November 1930.

160. 'Abridged Draft of Political Theses of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.', *Inprecor,* No. 40, 1024, 20 July 1934. The correctness of this later self-criticism by the C.P.I. seems confirmed by contemporary evidence; see for example the Governor of Bombay's comment with regard to the civil disobedience movement in May 1930 that the "Communist & Workers' & Peasants' Organisations are watching and waiting" (Sykes to Irwin, 21 May 1930, *Halifax Collection,* Vol. 24, 370), also a Bombay C.P.I. document (quoted in the three Parties' Open Letter of 19 May 1932, see below, 36) of June 1930.

161. "Bombay Special" to Home Department, New Delhi, (Tel. P. No. SD 148), 30 January 1930 *L/PJ/6/1996,* 770/30. Men who worked in Congress between the wars were often later to recollect this incident, e.g. M. R. Masani: "the Indian Communists insulted on the sands of Chowpathy in Bombay the national flag of the independent India yet to be born", *The Communist Party of India,* 29.

162. See Viceroy's telegrams to Secretary of State during May 1930, *L/PJ/6/200,* for example No. 1451-S, 11 May 1930 (2357/30) and No. S688 25 May 1930 (2817/30).

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resulted in great Congress efforts to win them,[163] with the organisation in August of a "Congress Labour Week."[164] This campaign helped persuade the C.P.I. that the 'real battle' was between themselves and Congress, so that "a vigorous struggle" for the support of the unemployed "between the Congress and the Communists" resulted.[165]

However in its competition with Congress it was the C.P.I. that was worsted. In August the non-C.P.I. section of the G.K.U. leadership joined Congress[166] and from this time millhands increasingly backed the Congress campaign.[167] Things were now looking bleak for the C.P.I. Its base among the millhands was badly eroded and its tactics were alienating the nationalist left[168] with which such fruitful cooperation had been developing in 1928. By February 1931 *Inprecor*[169] was speaking of the "revolutionary masses" being "welded together under counter-revolutionary leadership" and the consequent "despair" of some Indian Communists.

The chances of a rapid turn to more realistic tactics were probably ended however by the period of Congress bargaining with the *Raj* which assumed open form from the time of the Delhi pact. In February 1931 'G.S.' had claimed that Congress was "preparing an inconceivable *treachery, the greatest of all.*"[170] Each Congress compromise, from the Delhi pact to participation in the Round Table Conference was regarded not merely as further

163. Sykes to Benn (tel.), 20 July 1930. *L/PJ/6/1998*, 4116/30.

164. Govt. of Bombay to Secretary of State (tel. SD 3523), 17 August 1930, *L/PJ/4/1998*, 4653/30.

165. Sykes to Irwin, 25 August 1930, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 25, 740.

166. Sykes to Irwin, (tel.), 13 August 1930, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 25, 688d.

167. Report of G. S. Wilson, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, 23 October 1930, *L/PJ/6/1998*, 6745/30.

168. Later Jaiprakash Narayan was to claim that though he had been converted to "Soviet Communism" in the U.S.A. in the 1920s, when he returned to India in 1929 and "did not find the Indian Communists anywhere on the battle lines" he "kept away from the C.P.I." and joined Congress. *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, 141-3.

169. 'The Next Tasks of the Indian Revolutionary Movement', by 'G.S.', *op. cit.*, No. 9, 179, 26 February, 1931.

170. *Ibid.*

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exposure of Congress treachery but actually as "a positive gain to the working masses" since they would thereby be emancipated "from the illusions created by the Congress leaders."[171] The reality was quite different. When the Communists organised a rival meeting to Gandhi's in Bombay immediately after the Delhi Pact they could attract an audience of only 150 compared with Gandhi's 200,000[172] When, on the occasion of Gandhi's departure from Bombay for the Round Table Conference, the Communists organised a demonstration of 200 millworkers crying 'Down with Gandhi', the demonstrators "were hammered by a large crowd that collected on the spur of the moment" and which resented opposition to Gandhi. The Communist call for a protest *hartal* was ignored and 50,000 assembled "to hear Mr. Gandhi's parting message and to have his 'darshan'."[173]

By 1932 C.P.I. fortunes were at their nadir. In May *Inprecor* spoke of C.P.I. "passivity" and "despondency,"[174] and in July of "hardly any resistance" to the machinations of the "national-reformists" in the Calcutta trade-unions.[175] By its sectarian tactics the C.P.I. had destroyed the progress made in the labour and political movements up to 1928. The object of strengthening the party had not been achieved, indeed, the C.P.I. was reduced to a few small groups riven with dissent.[176]

The first step away from leftism and towards recovery came in summer 1932 with advice from abroad after a request from Meerut prisoners concerned at the Party's decline.[177] The advice

171. V. Chattopadhyaya, 'The Capitulation of the Indian Bourgeoisie' *Inprecor*, No. 15, 285, 19 March 1931.

172. Report of Commissioner of Police, Bombay, No. 1530/H/3717, 18 March 1931, *L/PJ/7/78*, 1697/31.

173. .Report of Commissioner of Police, Bombay, 29 August 1931, *L/PJ/7/78*, 4544/31.

174. 'Open Letter to the Indian Communists from the Central Committees of the C.Ps. of Germany, Great Britain and China', *op. cit.*, No. 22, 436, 19 May 1932.

175. Rathan Singh (an exiled Indian revolutionary) 'The Struggle for the Indian Masses under Conditions of Colonial Terror', *op. cit.*, No. 30, 615, 7 July 1932.

176. *India & Communism*, 162 and the three Parties' Open Letter, *op. cit.*, 19 May 1932.

177. *India & Communism*, 183 and Ahmad, *The C.P.I.: Years of Formation*, 38.

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correctly identified the immediate cause of C.P.I. misfortune as isolation from the masses led by organisations, such as Congress and trade-union bodies, which the C.P.I. had labelled as irremediably inimical to the interests of the revolution. However no critique of the theoretical mistakes regarding the rôles of the national bourgeoisie and 'Left' nationalists, which had led to this isolation, was undertaken. Consequently the advice was only a very partial, inconsistent rectification of the leftist line. Advice on the need to renew contact with the masses by participating in all *mass* demonstrations organised by the Congress"[178] and by organising "Communist fractions" in the "mass organisations" of "'left' national reformism"[179] was thus accompanied by support for extreme leftist formulations which had helped isolate the C.P.I. from the masses in the first place. For example Left nationalists were identified as the "especial" target for an "*uncompromising* struggle" whilst "the worst enemies" of the Indian revolution were not the imperialists but the Royists.[180]

Even so the C.P.I.'s acceptance of the revised line came only in 1933 when the release of most of the experienced leaders after Meerut[181] coincided with renewed international exhortation on the lines of those of 1932.[182]

In November 1933 a Calcutta meeting of the main cadres, convened by Adhikari, set about a C.P.I. reorganisation involving the formation of a central organising 'nucleus', the barring of two of the main 1929–33 leaders from elective posts and the reunification of the key Bombay party.[183] A new political thesis which

178. The three Parties' Open Letter *op. cit.*, 19 May 1932.

179. Rathan Singh 'The Struggle for the Indian Masses under Conditions of Colonial Terror', *Inprecor*, No. 30, 615, 7 July 1932. The reference to "mass organisations" clearly refers primarily to the trade-unions.

180. The three Parties' Open Letter, *op. cit.*, 19 May 1932.

181. The first releases, including Adhikari and P. P. Joshi, came in August, *India & Communism*, 140 and 187.

182. 'The Indian Labour Movement', (unsigned), *Inprecor*, No. 22, 490. 19 May 1933; V. Basak, 'The Present Situation in India, *Inprecor*, No. 39, 853, 8 September 1933; 'Open Letter to the Indian Communists from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China', *Inprecor* No. 51, 1153, 24 November 1933.

183. See *India & Communism*, 187-91 and Ghate's testimony in Communist Party of India, *op. cit.*, 112. The two debarred men were Ranadive and Deshpande.

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resulted from this meeting conformed to the revised line of the 1932 Open Letter but added its own original touch by making the first C.P.I. advocacy of what later became known as 'collective affiliation.' Thus the Communists were "to use the Congress platforms," not as the C.P.I., but "through some of the mass organisations of the toilers."[184] That these tactics meant C.P.I.-led 'mass organisations' actually joining Congress was made clear in a contemporary article.[185]

This period also saw the first practical steps by Indian Communists to reunify the trade-union movement. A late 1933 appeal had called for the uniting of C.P.I.-led unions with 'parallel' unions,[186] but some unity in action was achieved in March 1934 when a Joint Strike Committee of Communists and Royists was formed to conduct a strike against wage cutting and rationalisation in the Bombay mills.[187]

In fact, after initial spectacular success, the strike collapsed amidst recrimination between the factions comprising the Joint Committee.[188] That the failure was partly due to C.P.I. sectarianism was suggested by an *Inprecor* analysis which spoke of some of the strike leaders calling for "purely Communist trade-unions" during the second part of the strike after many of the

184. 'Abridged Draft of Political Theses of the Central Committee of the C.P.I.', *Inprecor*, No. 40, 1024, 20 July 1934. According to the Intelligence Bureau, *India & Communism*, 187-91, these were prepared by Adhikari on instructions from the November 1933 meeting and appeared in pamphlet form in February 1934.

185. Orgwald, 'A Conversation with Indian Comrades', *Inprecor*, No. 20, 519, 29 March 1934.

186. 'For Trade-Union Unity in India', said to be an "appeal worked out at the end of 1933 by a group of participants in the Indian trade-union movement", *Inprecor*, No. 31, 820, 25 May 1934.

187. Government of Bombay to G. of I. (letter No. SD-1602), 18 May 1934, *P/83*, File No. 7/5—Political of 1934, Serial No. 341. Bombay Government to Secretary of State, (tel. No. 37), 29 April 1934, *ibid.* Serial No. 12; Maxwell, Home Department (Special) Bombay to Hallett, Secretary to G. of I, Home Department, Report for second half of January 1934, 1-6 February 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14.

188. Brabourne to Viceroy, 5 May 1934, *Brabourne, Collection*, Vol. 14; Bombay Government to Hoare, 6 June 1934, *P/83*, Serial No. 38; Maxwell to Hallett, report for second half of June, 1-7 July 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14.

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experienced leaders like Adhikari had been arrested.[189] Even so, the first tentative C.P.I. moves away from leftism had brought their reward. In the autumn the C.P.I. was speaking of its "rehabilitation" with the millhands[190] and the Bombay Governor of Communist domination of the city's unions.[191]

In 1934 the C.P.I. also benefited from its abandoning of the policy of holding aloof from Congress. Thus Adhikari began to establish contacts with Left Congressmen[192] and the Bombay Congress session was the occasion for the distribution of C.P.I. literature which influenced men who were to become Kerala C.P.I. leaders.[193] By January 1935 extending C.P.I. contacts with the recently formed Congress Socialist Party had resulted in an agreement for united action.[194] In April a further such agreement was reached between the C.S.P. and the two trade-union centres A.I.T.U.C. and the Red T.U.C. which in the same month merged at Calcutta.[195]

Thus by early 1935 the C.P.I. was participating in joint Bombay P.C.C.-A.I.T.U.C. meetings festooning the platforms with banners praising Russia and the Comintern.[196] For the *Raj* the spectre of Communist-nationalist collusion was reappearing,[197] alongside

189. 'Problems of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in India', *op. cit.*, No. 10, 290, 9 March 1935.

190. *India & Communism*, 200.

191. Brabourne to Hoare, 26 November 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14. That Brabourne was not referring solely to Royist control seems certain since earlier (Brabourne to Hoare, draft tel. No. 28, 10 April 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 4), he had claimed that "Practically all Textile and other Unions are in the hands of Communist leaders, largely Meerut prisoners". C.P.I. influence in the Bombay unions almost certainly increased between April and November.

192. Biographical sketch of Adhikari, in Rao & Sen, *Our. Doc.* 7.

193. Krishnan, *Kerala's First Communist*, 67.

194. Maxwell to Hallett, report for first half of January, 1-6 February 1935, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14.

195. Weekly Report No. 15, Director, Intelligence Bureau, 20 April 1935, *L/PJ/7/893*, 2734/35, and Punekar, *op. cit.*, 334.

196. Maxwell to Hallett, report for first half of February, 16-21 February 1935, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14; Knight, Secretary to Bombay Home Department (Special) to Hallett, report for second half of May, 1-6 June 1935, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14.

197. Apprehension about the effects on Congress of any Communist support for C.S.P. work in that body had been expressed by G. of I. to Hoare on 16 October 1934 (tel. 38-C) *L/PJ/7/484*, 3736/34.

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clear evidence of the C.P.I.'s advance.[198] Indeed the C.P.I. was clearly assisted by the antagonism to imperialism Congressmen shared with Communists.

In particular Congress opposition to the *Raj* hindered the application of repressive measures against the C.P.I. Two weapons used by Government against the C.P.I. at this time were the Criminal Law Amendment Act, under which the Party was banned in July 1934,[199] and the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, giving certain powers to arrest and intern. However convictions were not easy to obtain under the former[200] whilst internment under the latter did not stop political work by the internees,[201] in fact the exile of two Communists to Ahmednagar enabled them to build such a base among local Congressmen that Dange used it to secure election to the Faizpur Congress session.[202] Thus, since after the "Pathetic"[203] outcome to the Meerut case Willingdon was determined not to have any more conspiracy cases;[204] feeling in Government in favour of anti-Communist legislation was strong.[205] However, the necessity to take into account Congress reaction to "imperialist repression" was an

198. Viceroy to Hoare (tel. R. No. 1578), 28 June 1935, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 17; Governor of Bengal to Hoare, 1 June 1935, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. 9, 224.

199. Notification No. F7/8/34, 23 July 1934, *P/12046*, File No. 7/8/34-Poll, Serial No. 3.

200. Viceroy to Hoare, (tel. R. No. 1462), 30 June 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 5, see also acquittals of Tambitkar and Sarmalkar in Maxwell to Hallett, report for first half of February, 16-21 February 1935, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 14.

201. *India & Communism*, 204.

202. Adhikari, 'Shripad Amrit Dange' *New Age*, 5 October 1969, 12.

203. The estimate of Williamson, Director of the Intelligence Bureau, *India & Communism*, vi.

204. Willingdon to Hoare, 26 February 1933, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. 6, 252. Hoare agreed: see Hoare to Willingdon 11 August 1933, *Templewood Collection*, Vol. 3, 791. The *Raj* certainly miscalculated the likely propaganda effect they hoped (see Peel to Irwin, 17 January 1929, *Halifax Collection*, Vol. 5, 11) would accrue from the trial. Indeed it was the Communists who were able successfully to exploit the trial for this purpose (see *India & Communism*, 141). Even in Britain, according to Hirtzel (to Hailey, 9 August 1929, *Hailey Collection*, Vol. 15b, 274) "the whole thing" seemed "to the plain man to be rather a travesty of justice".

205. Brabourne to Hoare, 28 June 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 4.

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impediment to efforts to have anti-Communist laws placed on the statute book.[206] British attempts to check the re-emergence of Indian Communism after 1933 were hampered by the aim nationalism shared with the C.P.I. of fighting the *Raj*.

Nevertheless, as long as the C.P.I. adhered to the general line of 1932 it could not take full advantage of this favourable circumstance. Whilst Communists continued to brand the C.S.P. as a "maneouvre" of the bourgeoisie to divert the revolutionary energies of the masses[207] that party was likely to react, as it did in 1934, by banning Communists from membership.[208] Whilst (perhaps the less sagacious) Communists continued to launch attacks on Congress meetings[209] the aim of collective affiliation was unlikely to be achieved.

The obvious need was for systematic extension of the halting revision of leftism which had begun in 1932 so that all Indian Communists could be wholly weaned away from it.

The decisive step came at the Seventh Comintern Congress[210] in August 1935. Here it was argued[211] that imperialism was currently waging an "intensified offensive" against the colonial peoples with political consequences of great significance. The antagonism between colonial and imperialist bourgeoisie had accentuated the national-revolutionary tendency, as represented by the formation of Left wings, was increasingly challenging reformism in

206. Hoare to Brabourne, 20 July 1934, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 2; Brabourne to Mark Patrick, 1 January 1935, *Brabourne Collection*, Vol. 4.

207. See, for example, R. P. Dutt, 'Congress Socialism', *Indian Forum*, October 1934, 118-123.

208. M. R. Masani to R. A. Butler, 24 July 1935, *L/PJ/7/893*, 2810/35.

209. See for example details of the breaking up of the Independence Day celebration in Calcutta on 26 January 1935 by "young communists", Government of India to Hoare, (tel. 396) 13 February 1935, *L/PJ/7484*, 488/35.

210. It is possible that the change in the line on India at this Congress came about partly because Spratt, who after his release from jail in September 1934 had toured India, sent the Comintern a report on the situation there, according to *India & Communism*, 205.

211. By Wang Ming in his report 'The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonial Countries', 7 August 1935. This was published in *Inprecor*, 11 November 1935, 1488, but a revised and augmented version was published separately. See 1, 3-4, 6, 29-30 especially.

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bourgeois nationalist parties. In view of these developments "anti-imperialist united front tactics" had assumed "primary important" for colonial Communist Parties. However C.P.I. work was held up as a model of how not to conduct such tactics. By demanding the I.N.C. accept a united front programme including a demand such as "'the establishment of an Indian Workers' & Peasants' Soviet Republic'" the C.P.I. (in December 1934) had made proletarian hegemony a precondition for cooperation with the bourgeois Congress. Such "'Left' sectarian errors" could only make a united front impossible.[212] The C.P.I. was thus urged to "put a decisive stop to sectarianism" and "in no case disregard work within the National Congress and the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations affiliated with it". The Comintern had returned to the pre-1928 line of organisational independence for Indian Communism alongside full participation in the national movement to promote its revolutionary tendency against reformism. Moreover, work within the C.S.P. was now clearly being urged.

Even so, not until after it was subjected to further pressure via the C.S.P. decision to reverse its ban on Communists becoming members[213] and through a new thesis from British Communists (both in January 1936) did the C.P.I. accept the break with leftism.

The new thesis, produced by R. P. Dutt and Bradley,[214] took the idea of collective affiliation and turned it into a means by which, along with other changes such as the democratising of its organisation and the dropping of "the dogma of non-violence" from its creed, Congress itself might be transformed into the desired united front. Of course the Communists would still maintain organi-

212. Of course "proletarian hegemony" in the anti-imperialist movement was quite as much an aim of the Communists as, they assumed, "bourgeois hegemony" was the aim of the Congress leadership. The point was that such hegemony could not be made a *condition* for the formation of the front.

213. Jaiprakash Narayan, 'Problem of Socialist Unity in India', a 1941 article in *Towards Struggle*, 170. No doubt this decision was influenced by the change in Comintern line of August 1935.

214. Dutt & Bradley, 'The Anti-Imperialist People's Front', *Indian Politics*, 2-13.

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sational independence but, as individuals, they would play a key role in the task of making Congress uncompromisingly revolutionary. Hopefully, this work would be effected not only by the affiliation of Communist-led mass organisations to Congress, but also by the C.S.P. which "as the grouping of all the radical elements in the existing Congress" had "an especially important part" to play. It was necessary for the C.P.I. to make clear its political differences with the C.S.P. and *vice versa*, but this should be achieved via "comradely discussion" which should not be an obstacle to "common working on all the issues on which agreement can be reached."

To achieve the desired changes in Congress, unity of all national-revolutionary forces was thus essential. But it was clear that equally necessary was the reunification of 'the most consistently revolutionary force,' the proletariat, so that the Dutt-Bradley thesis on unity in the political sphere was accompanied by an appeal for "a united trade-union movement" since, "[in] this manner the united working class" would "be able to bring its full strength to bear" in the united front. The ending of the last remaining divisions in the Indian trade-union movement was thereby urged on the C.P.I. as a key task.[215]

At first there was considerable opposition within the C.P.I. to the Dutt-Bradley formulations,[216] but by spring 1936 a new C.P.I. leadership had accepted the need to implement the new line and had grasped the hand extended by the C.S.P. in January, Communists now being permitted to join that Party on an individual basis[217] From this time the leftist period of the pre-Independence C.P.I. can be taken as ended. Even though leftism was to persist in the party the new formulations had now been accepted as the guidelines for C.P.I. policy. The party now entered a period when the applications of the new line was to see an unprecedented growth in membership and influence.

215. Dutt & Bradley, 'Towards Trade Union Unity', *op. cit.*, 14-24.

216. See the testimony of Communist C. V. Rao in Overstreet and Windmiller, *op. cit.*, 162.

217. *Ibid.*, and Ghate, quoted in Communist Party of India, *op. cit.*, 114-116. Ghate and P. C. Joshi were leading members of the new C.P.I. Central Committee.

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The Second Comintern Congress had established that, colonial Communist Parties were faced with two basic tasks: firstly, to work in national liberation movements against imperialism and 'feudalism', and secondly, to organize Communist movements to conduct the anti-bourgeois struggle. Though the national movements by nature were bourgeois, no contradiction between the two tasks was admitted. In fact the two were seen as complementary since the completion of the national democratic revolution would ensure the conditions necessary for achieving socialism, whilst the building of Communist Parties would mean strengthening the political expression of the class most consistently interested in the bourgeois revolution: the proletariat. Doubts about this thesis by those Communists who feared that the first task would necessarily hamper the second constituted the origin of leftism which, when it guided C.P.I. work in the earlier 1930s, proved a severe handicap for Indian Communism. The lesson of these years was that *neglect* of the first task inevitably made success in the second impossible. Work within the national movement was necessary, if not sufficient, for success in building the C.P.I.

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Indian National Congress, The Formative Years

REVITALIZATION AS A POLITICAL FORCE

BY

P. N. CHOPRA

The fifth session of the Congress which met at Bombay under the presidentship of Sir William Wedderburn came to be known as the Bradlaugh session,[1] due to the presence of that great parliamentarian whose visit, according to Surendranath Bannerjea, "imparted a new impetus to the Congress cause."[2] Bradlaugh reputed to be the "Member for India" was enthusiastically received by a grateful nation and several hundred addresses were presented to him.[3] Bradlaugh's reply was characteristic of him. "For whom should I work" he remarked "if not for the people, born of the people, trusted by the people; I will die for the people."[4] Addressing the delegates he said, "Your presence here today refutes and answers in anticipation one sneer, that I have heard spoken within the walls of Parliament. It is said there is no Indian Nation; there can be no Indian National Congress; there is no Indian people; there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds. The lesson I read here is that this Congress movement is an educational movement, hammering upon the anvil of millions of men's brains until it welds into one common whole men whose desire for political and social reforms is greater than all distinctions of race and creed."[5]

The Congress at Bombay was larger than the previous one. The number of delegates in that year (1889) was by a curious coincidence exactly 1889.[6] This session was unique in many res-

1. Mazumdar, A. C., *Congress in Evolution*, p. XXI.
2. Bannerjea, S. N., *A Nation in Making*, p. 110.
3. *Proc. I.N.C.* 1889, p. 69.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
5. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1889, p. 71.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

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pects. A skeleton scheme for introducing representative institutions in India was first drafted at this session.[7] "Hume's innocent proposal for some provision for safeguarding the interests of the minorities brought forth a fierce demand from Munshi Hidayat Rasul, a delegate from Oudh, for parity between Hindus and Muslims in the Councils."[8] However, his amendment was rejected by Muhammadan delegates themselves, 16 voting for and 23 against the proposal. One of the resolutions adopted at this session was to send "a deputation to England .... to represent the views of the Congress and to press upon the attention of the British public, the political reforms which the Congress advocates."[9] Hume, Pherozeshah Mehta, Mano Mohan Ghose, W. C. Bonnerjee, Sharifuddin, Eardley Norton, R. N. Mudholkar and Surendranath were to be its members.[10] Surendranath's appeal for funds at the close of the session met with a response which would have been regarded "unique in the annals of any public movement."[11] This session was also memorable in another respect because for the first time some of the lady delegates[12] attended it. Lajpat Rai also attended this session which did not impress him much. As he wrote in his diary "I somehow began to feel that the Congress leaders cared more for fame and pomp than for the interest of the country." But as he explained later this was only a vague feeling and he could not substantiate it.[13] Lajpat Rai did evince much interest in Congress activities. He sincerely believed that the Congress had been founded by a few Englishmen to provide "an innocuous occupation for the intelligentia lest they should organise a strong political movement aimed at England's supremacy." He was of the view that Indians should make themselves stronger by education, by the spread of swadeshi and by smuggling of arms. Only then they would be able to drive out the British."

After the return of Sir William Wedderburn from the Bombay Congress, steps were taken to put the London organisation on a

7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
9. Bannerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
10. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1889, pp. 63-64.
11. Bannerjea, S. N., *op cit.*, p. 110.
12. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1889, p. 69.
13. Lajpat Rai, *"The Story of My Life"*, p. 86.

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more permanent footing. With the approval of the Indian leaders, a small committee consisting of Allan Hume, W. S. Caine, M.P., John E. Ellis, M.P. (who became Under Secretary of State for India in 1906), W. S. B. Melaren, M.P., Dadabhai Naroji and George Yule with William Wedderburn as Chairman was appointed. Thus the British Committee of the Indian National Congress came into being. The first issue of the journal "India" appeared in February 1890, the Editor being William Digby. It was issued at irregular intervals till 1892 when it became a monthly journal and later on a weekly in January, 1898. Its main purpose was to "bring grit to the Congress mill."[14] Six thousand copies of it were printed[15] and widely distributed in India. Lord Hamilton expressed concern about "this poisonous little rag" which spread 'lies'.[16] In India it definitely exercised an important influence on the Vernacular Press and the British Intelligence Chief regarded "this influence to be pernicious."[17] The politically conscious Bengal subscribed for 960 copies of 'India' while many of the Indian papers received it in exchange.[18] 'India' continued as a weekly review for many years until Congress closed its official representation in London.[19] Early in 1890, Bradlaugh introduced in the House of Commons the Indian Councils Amendment Bill which was based upon the draft scheme of the Congress.[20]

The Congress continued to grow in strength as Dadabhai wrote to Wacha on December 10, 1890 "Its importance and necessity increases everyday." The growing popularity of the Congress was

14. *Hamilton Papers* D 510/2, Vol. 14, pp. 63-7. *Select Documents, "The Evolution of India and Pakistan"* edited by C. H. Philips, London, 1962, p. 147.

15. Letter dated 18th July, 1899 of C. W. Boston, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, *Hamilton Papers*, India Office Library, D510/2, Volume 14, pp. 227-30, Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

16. Lord Hamilton to Lord Curzon, 18th May, 1899, *Hamilton Papers*, India Office Library, C. 126/1, pp. 135-8, Private papers, Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

17. C. S. Bayley, I.C.S., (Superintendent for the suppression of Thagi and Dakaity).

Note on Congress Support, 18th June, 1899, in Philips, *op. cit.*, 147.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *The Hindu*, December 27, 1935. Frederick Grubb's article "The First National Congress".

20. *Ibid.*

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looked upon with grave concern in British Conservative circles. Even a liberal statesman. Lord Dufferin, had denounced the National Congress as a public danger. Gladstone, too, in one of his letters had confessed the 'rising forces of sedition as a headless child which might play with a tiger cub.' Dadabhai Naroji had been assured by one of the two political parties in England that after Ireland is satisfied, the emancipation of India must next be taken in hand. The British were alarmed at the rapid pace of education. "Sir John Gorst only gave the people a better, more education in order to succeed in educating the English out of India." The speeches made at the Congress session were quoted to show that they were highly prejudicial to British interests. "Indeed, if the world was governed by folk," one of the writers said "the Hindus and the Irish would be ruling races of mankind." They were highly critical of the proposal of the Congress to substitute the Viceregal Council with an assembly of which half of the members are to be elected and this assembly should be given all legislative and financial powers. "Was ever an Imperial nation so cruelly requested to abdicate authority and surrender its more cherished possessions to men whose fitness to rule is based simply on a certain imitative capacity to make long speeches." The Government was urgerd by these elements to give up their attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards the Congress and to put a stop to these meetings of the Congress at present, a few years hence, such a course would be too late. The Government was urged to give up the pretence that "we keep India merely for the benefit of the people of that country and in order to train them for self-Government. We keep it for the sake of the interest and the honour of England and the only form of Government by which we can continue to hold it in subjection is that of despotism."[21]

The Congress this year met (1890) at Calcutta under the presidentship of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta[22] who was proud of its success. "We have survived the ridicule, the abuse and the misrepresentation" he declared. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyality. We have also survived the charge of being a "microscopic minority." We have survived the charge of

21. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April, Vol. VII, 1889.
22. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1890, pp. 4-5.

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being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise,[23] he concluded. As regards the peaceful and loyal aims of the Congress, the President quoted the testimony of no less a person than Lord Randolph Churchill, former Secretary of State who declared publicly that "he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people."[24] The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mano Mohan Ghose claimed in his welcome address that the "Congress represents the thinking portion of the people of India. The delegates present here today, he said, are the chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people who have learnt to think and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity."[25] He condemned the British policy of "Divide & Rule" as "unworthy of the great English people" and fraught with ultimate danger "to the safety of the British Empire."[26]

Some sensation had been caused on the eve of the session due to a notice which appeared in certain English newspapers prohibiting Government servants from attending even as visitors the meetings of the Indian National Congress.[27] Moreover the admission tickets sent to the Lieutenant Governor and his household were also returned on the plea that "the orders of the Government of of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings."[28] A reference was made to the Viceroy who at once declared that the "Belvidere interpretation of the order of Government of India was a clear misapprehension that in the opinion of the Government the Congress movement was "perfectly legitimate in itself, that the Government of India recognise that the Congress Movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced liberal party as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinion which

23. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
24. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1890, p. 6.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. For details and letters, refer to *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1891, p. 86.
28. *Ibid.*

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exists side by side with it and that the real attitude of the Government was one of perfect neutrality in relation to both parties."[29] It was also made clear that it is only from participation that the Government servants were necessarily debarred but even this restriction was not to apply to Government pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good.[30] Lord Lansdowne went further and invited the delegates not as such, it is true, but as "distinguished visitors" to the garden party. Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras, followed suit when the Congress was held there next year and even helped the Reception Committee with supplies from the Government House. It will be of interest to note what the programme of the Congress was at this time (1890) as detailed in the journal *India* (May 23, 1890). It was at this session of 1890 that the Congress decided upon the bold adventure of holding its session in London itself with 100 delegates so as to impress upon the British public the volume as well as the strength of the Indian demands.[31]

During the year 1890 and 1891 Hume was in despair. The Government did not seem to be willing to accede to any of the Congress demands which were repeated year after year from its platform. Even the Congress request for the separation of executive from judiciary applauded as a "counsel of perfection" by Lord Dufferin had not been put into practice. Then there was paucity of funds which aggravated the matter still further.[32] So Hume, in this frame of mind, it appears thought of suspending the Indian National Congress.[33] This proposal created a great stir throughout the country. Some Muslim-owned newspapers like the *Nizam ul Mulk* (Moradabad),[34] *Mehr-i-Nimros* (Bijnor)[35] and *Akhbar-I-Alam* (Meerut) supported and even praised the proposal saying that "no good has accrued from the National Congress and

29. Mazumdar, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 81.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1891, p. 66
32. Dadabhai to Wacha, December 23, 1891, *Dadabhai* by Masani, pp. 308-14.
33. *Ibid.* Also *Native Newspaers Report for Punjab, N.W.P. & Oudh* (1871-91), p. 858.
34. December 20, 1891. *N.N.R.* (1871-91) *Punjab, NW.P. and Oudh*, p. 858.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 589.

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that the time and money spent on it by its supporters have been simply thrown away. It has failed to influence Government in any way which continues to conduct the administration according to its own sweet will,"[36] and that the Congress on the other hand had "created ill feeling between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities and produced doubts in the mind of the Government about the loyalty of the natives."[37] While other papers like the *Rahbar* (Moradabad) pleaded that the "abolition of the Congress would be an ill-advised measure. Its supporters should not be disheartened if the Government has not yet granted their requests. It is a very useful institution and has given valuable political education to natives during the seven years of its existence. Even if it does not do any other good, it deserves to be maintained as a political school for natives." As regards the annual expenditure on Congress sessions the paper asserted that "there are men who can contribute the amount without any difficulty."[38] Dadabhai also wrote in the same strain to Hume "The Congress meetings should not be stopped. Such an action will put back India's progress a generation or at least for years.....you have already achieved a great deal in rousing up the people. Don't give them up now."[39]

There was a good deal of discussion about this matter in the next session of the Congress held at Nagpur under the presidentship of Ananda Charlu. Surendranath Bannerjea in a spirited speech condemned this idea to "abandon the Congress, the standard round which we have fought for the last eight years, the standard which we trust one day to carry proudly before us to victory. No, we will do nothing of the kind. We mean to stick to the Congress. We mean to hold to it from years' end to years' end until we have won for ourselves these rights and privileges to which we are indefeasibly entitled."[40] Pt. Ajudhia Nath was no less emphatic when he declared: "India means to carry on this movement or as our opponents call it, agitation (be it so) so long as our reasonable demands are not granted and if Government defer the granting

36. Mihr-i-Nimroz, December 21, 1891.
37. Nizam-ul-Mulk (Moradabad) December 20, 1891.
38. Rahbar, Dec. 20, 1891, *N.N.R., Punjab, N.W.P. & Oudh*, pp. 308-14.
39. Dadabhai to Hume, Oct. 14, 1891, *N.N.R., Punjab, N.W.P. & Oudh*, pp. 308-14.
40. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1891, p. 11

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of these demands, the Government and the British Parliament and the British nation will be responsible before man and God for the waste of India's time, India's money and India's energy."[41] P. Ananda Charlu in his Presidential Address had made a passionate appeal to Congressmen to "penetrate to the masses and "deeply imbue them with the spirit of the Congress. "It becomes our bounden duty" he declared "to go more amid the masses and to saturate their minds with the aspirations of a united nationality." Though as yet their efforts had not been met with much success, yet the Congress platform is the field on which such bloodless triumphs are to be won.[42]

Like many of her noble-minded Britains, Justice McCarthy's advice to the British Government that it was high time that the Government should listen to the views and demands of the Indian people as put forward by the Congress had also fallen on deaf ears. "You must have the voice of India, you must know what its population wish for themselves and till you hear that voice speaking to you directly as people unto people you cannot possibly hope to govern with stability and with safety a great country like India," he had warned.[43] Hume was becoming impatient. All his efforts to open the eyes of the British authorities to the realities of the situation had proved of no avail. In his famous circular dated Feb. 16, 1892 addressed to Congressmen and marked private and confidential, he gave vent to his feelings of frustration. The existing system of administration, he pointed out, was not only pauperizing the people but also inevitably preparing the way for "one of the most terrible catclysms in the history of the world." He warned the rich and the well-to-do "Do not fancy that Government will be able to protect you or itself. No earthly power can stem an universal agrarian rising in a country like this. My countrymen will be as men in the desert vainly struggling for a brief space, against the Simon. Thousands of the rioters may be killed but to what avail when there are millions on millions who have nothing to look forward to but death—nothing to hope for but vengeance, as for leaders when the hour comes—be sure there will

41. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
43. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1895, p. iii.

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be no lack of leaders. This is no hypothesis—it is a certainity."[44] This letter came to be published much to the "consternation of the writer and his colleagues." The hostile press made capital out of it and the British Committee had to express regrets that such an injudicious letter should have been circulated.

However, the continuous agitation of the Congress for six years led to the passing of the Council Act of 1892—exactly thirty-one years after the Act of 1861. "The number of members was increased and provision was made for the nomination of some members," writes Sir Chintamani, "the recommendation of statutory local bodies, universities and chambers of commerce though the principle of election was not recognised in terms."[45] And Gokhale had to tell the Congress at Lahore that "if the officer who drafted the Rules for Bombay had been asked to sit down with the deliberate purpose of framing a scheme to defeat the object of the Act of 1892, he could not have done better."[46] Disappointed even in their moderate expectations, the Congress leaders yet felt that they had proved the value of their method of agitating public opinion both in India and in England in order to gain results. Dadabhai gave the credit for the Act to the Congress.[47] With regard to the other important demand of the Congress to hold simultaneous examinations in India and England for all the civil services, "it would not have become a practical fact by the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June," declared the Grand Old Man of India in his Presidential address at the Lahore Session of 1893 "had it not been to a large extent for your perservering but constitutional demand for it made with moderation during the years of your existence."[48] They had also succeeded not only in creating British interest in Indian affairs but were also able to send an Indian to the House of Commons.[49] The President also conveyed to the delegates to the Lahore session which "far surpassed in magnificence the sessions at Nagpur and

44. Masani, *op. cit.*
45. Chitamani, G. Y., *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, pp. 25-26.
46. Zacharias, *H.E.C. Renascent India*, p. 126.
47. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1893, pp. 16-17.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

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Allahabad" the message of the Irish Home Rulers. "'Do not forget" they told Dadabhai before he left England, "to tell your colleagues that everyone of Ireland Home Rule members in Parliament are at your back in the cause of the Indian people."[50] Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee discounted the assertion that the "Congress is a Babu movement and the martial races of India have no sympathy with it. This great assembly is a living refutation of all assertions of that description,"[51] he declared. The Congress had come triumphant through all tests. Not only did Congressmen survive all the desperate attacks of opponents but "have actually grown so influential," said the Sardar, "that when a short time ago an attempt was made to set up an anti-Congress demonstration in one of the important cities of this province not far from the capital, the all-powerful district officer actually discouraged the attempt on the ground that such a demonstration even though backed by all the official influence of that place would prove perfectly abortive and quite inadequate for the purpose of stemming the tide of educated public opinion in favour of the national movement."[52]

It was at the Madras session (1894) that the rules for the conduct of business were first framed. The proceedings were marked by a considerable excitement over the question of two fresh taxes proposed to be levied on the already overburdened Indian tax payer. The Congress strongly protested against "the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant mill industry of this country,"[53] and the Congress also "put on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrified to those of Lancashire."[54] The other was the levy of an arbitrary penalty in the shape of costs of punitive police forces quartered in disturbed areas under an amendment of the Indian Police Act of 1861."[55]

50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1894, p. 30.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Mazumdar, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 86.

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Indian National Congress had come to be a potent factor in Indian affairs and even the *London Times* had to admit in its editorial of January 5, 1894, that among the many movements moral and political now stirring the life of the Indian people "the Indian National Congress holds a foremost place" and "it is from the fact that it is only one of many and that it is the product of an isolated agitation but of a general social awakening that it derives its true significance."[56] Surendranath Bannerjea in his Presidential Address at the Poona Congress next year held out hopes of a golden age which was "looming in the future. There is a golden age in store for us and our children. It is this feeling which reconciles us to the present. We feel that if the political freedom in the sense in which it is enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere is not to be our lot, it will be the inheritance of those, who coming after us, will hear our names and carry on our work. In that faith we work. In that faith we ask others to work."[57] "Let it not be said," he declared "that the enthusiasm which animated us in the first days of the Congress movement is on the wane. The past ought to encourage us. The future ought to stir us into enthusiasm. The noblest heritage which we can leave to our children and our children's children is the heritage of enlarged rights, safeguarded by the loyal devotion and the fervent enthusiasm of an emancipated people."[58] The Congress here registered a strong protest against a bill introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council to amend the Legal Practitioners' Act of 1879 by which the provincial legal practitioners were sought to be completely subordinated to the District Judges and the Revenue Commissioners. And as Subba Rao (from Madras) declared, "This bill strikes at the root of the independence of the bar, lowers its prestige, impairs its usefulness and tends to destroy the security of the public in the protection of their property, their liberty and their lives."[59] It will also destroy the independence of the members of the bar who "have taken their place as leaders to some

56. *Proc. I.N.C.*, 1895, p. iv.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

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extent of public spirit and as interpreters to some extent between the rules and the ruled."[60]

Rahimut Ullah Muhammad Sayani, President of the Calcutta session (1896) in a scholarly address[61] traced the origin, history and aims and objects of the Congress. He dealt in detail with the causes of the Muslim apathy towards the Congress and gave replies to their objections. It was a masterly address, typical of the liberal Muslim opinion. He made a passionate appeal to his co-religionists to "actively co-operate in all the public movements in the country generally and especially our good Congress, the germ of our future federated Parliament.....with hearts honest, true and unselfish.....and thus participate in our great bloodless battle for justice and freedom and especially make a beginning now, when all our minor anxieties are overshadowed by the cloud now impending over our beloved land in which we too plainly discern the spectre of famine frowning upon a teeming, frugal and ceaselessly industrious population and join in asking redress at the hands of Government and in expressing disapproval of the mistaken system."[62]

60. *Ibid.*
61. For Sayani's Presidential Address refer to *Proc. I.N.C.* 1896, pp. 18-64.
62. *Ibid.*

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Travancore and The Paramount Power — A Study in Wartime Relationship

BY

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The relations between the Native States and the Paramount Power constitute an important aspect of British Colonialism in India. Britian's relations with the Princely States were based on a network of subsidiary treaties entered into by the English East India Company with the rulers of the states. It was the consistent policy of the British Government to tighten its control over the Native States which was achieved through a judicious interpretation of the treaties and an assiduous cultivation of political practices. The two world wars of the present century provided an excellent opportunity for the rulers of the Indian States to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown and for the Paramount power to test the loyalty of the Princes and thereby extract from them the maximum contributions to the war effort. In this paper an attempt is made to asses the impact of the world wars on the relations between the Princely State of Travancore and the British Government and deduce conclusions regarding the nature of and the motives involved in their reciprocal relationship.

Long before she emerged as the supreme power in India, Britian had close relations with Travancore. From the very inception of the East India Company the shores of this maritime State were frequented by English merchants. The State was rich in spices and calico and the merchants came here in quest of these precious commodities. Travancore was the first among the states in India to enter into treaty relations with the English. K. M. Panikkar has said: "The first treaty entered into by the East India Company with an Indian State was the Treaty of Anjengo with the Raja of Travancore which was negotiated by Dr. Alexander Orme, the historian's father, who was the chief of the Anjengo

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factory."[1] This treaty signed in 1723 was more than a trade agreement; it had political implications. The Raja offered to build a fort at Colachel in South Travancore and the Company promised to supply the artillery and munitions of war for the fort. Article 6 of the Treaty declared that the king of Travancore "will be in league and united in good friendship with the Honourable Company."[2]

During the wars with Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, the British invariably found the Raja of Travancore a steadfast ally.[3] In the Second Mysore war Travancore forces fought on the side of the English against the Sultan of Mysore. The help rendered by the State was greatly appreciated and Travancore was particularly mentioned in the Treaty of Mangalore, 1784 as an ally of the Company.[4] It was this commitment that prompted Cornwallis to declare war on Tipu Sultan in 1789 when the latter invaded Travancore.

It was towards the close of the 18th century that Travancore became a subsidiary ally of the East India Company. In 1795 a formal treaty was concluded by which the Company agreed to protect Travancore from foreign aggression.[5] By a subsequent treaty signed in 1805, the subsidy was enhanced and the state was brought under the effective control of the Company. Eventually the subsidy payable by Travancore was fixed at Rs. 8 lakhs per annum.[6] The 19th century witnessed a steady growth of British authority in the state and every branch of the State administration was brought under the control of the Resident. With the exception of Swati Tirunal (1847–1860) the rulers of Travancore tried their

1. K. M. Panikkar, *Relations of Indian States with the Government of India*, (London, 1927), pp. 5, 6.

2. W. Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other papers of importance relating to British affairs in Malabar*, (Madras, 1951), p. 207.

3. C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads*, (Vol. viii), (Calcutta, 1892), p. 109.

4. P. Shungoonny Menon, *A History of Travancore*, (Madras, 1878), p. 207.

5. C. U. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

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utmost to maintain friendly relations with the British Government and never failed to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown.

With the dawn of the 20th century, there was a marked change in the British policy towards the Indian States. Alarmed at the rapid growth of nationalism in the country and the agitational approach of the Indian National Congress the British Government was constrained to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the states. The princes were no longer viewed with suspicion and their co-operation was eagerly sought. It was the intention of the British Government to use the princely order in India as a counterpoise against the national movement. The Princes too had no sympathy towards the National Movement and let loose a policy of repression in dealing with such movements within their borders. They reaffirmed their faith in the invincibility of British power and matched their profession of loyalty by appropriate action when the occasion arose.

The First World War provided an opportunity for the British Government to test the loyalty of the princes and for the latter to act in such a way as to justify the trust reposed in them. The Maharaja of Travancore strongly condemned German militarism and offered his unqualified support to the Paramount Power. "He placed all the resources of the State at the disposal of His Majesty, the King Emperor and at a later stage when the tension of the conflict became severe exhorted his subjects in a soul-stirring message to help the cause of the Empire to the utmost limit of their capacity."[7]

The people responded magnificently to their sovereign's appeal and made substantial contributions to the war effort. Many of them enlisted for active service and others invested their money in War Bonds. The State Government granted many concessions to those who volunteered for military service. Special facilities were provided for the veterans in the matter of land assignments.

The contributions made by the State Government towards the war effort, were substantial. Sir M. Krishnan Nair, the Dewan of Travancore in his address to the State assembly informed the

7. The Dewan's address to the 15th session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly, (see the *Travancore Almanac and Directory for* 1920, p. vii).

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house that His Highness "made a further contribution of one lakh of rupees to the Madras War Fund and the State had so far invested 15 lakhs of rupees in the Government of India War Bonds."[8] The Maharaja and the officers of the State made monthly contributions towards the maintenance of the hospital ship 'Madras' which rendered invaluable service in connection with war relief.[9] The State Government did everything in its power to encourage recruitment from Travancore to the British Army. To facilitate recruitment, an official of the State Government was appointed District Assistant Recruiting Officer for Travancore. Any attempt to dissuade people from joining the army was seriously dealt with. A Proclamation dated 6 July 1918 stated: "No person shall dissuade or attempt to dissuade or abet the dissuation of any person from entering the military or police service of His Majesty, the King Emperor."[10] Apart from the facilities provided for direct recruitment to the Indian Army, the Maharaja offered to place the State forces at the disposal of the British Government. The Travancore Army known as the Nair Brigade was sent out to supplement the British forces. Attached to the 73rd infantry of the Indian Army, the Travancore soldiers acquitted themselves creditably and the officer commanding the Regiment spoke high of their performance.[11]

Apart from the substantial aid given by the State, the entire administration was placed on a war footing. A state of emergency was declared and all activities likely to undermine the war effort were put down with a heavy hand. Restrictions were imposed on the press. A royal proclamation issued in August 1914 prohibited the publication of any news regarding the movements of troops, ships or aircraft other than the information supplied by the Government.[12] Those who were guilty of such offences were liable to imprisonment for one year or a fine up to Rs. 5,000/- or both.[13] No court was authorised to try an offence punishable under this proclamation unless upon a complaint made by the

8. *The Travancore Almanac and Directory for* 1920, p. vii
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Travancore Government Gazette*, dated 9 July 1918.
11. *The Travancore Almanac and Directory for* 1920, p. vii.
12. *Travancore Government Gazette Extraordinary*, dated 15 August 1914.
13. *Ibid.*

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Government itself.[14] The entry of foreigners was restricted and their movements within the state were closely watched. By a Government Notification dated 19 August 1914 all non-Asiatic foreigners, who had not received permission to reside in Travancore, were ordered to appear and register themselves within 24 hours before the British Resident and report themselves periodically if so required by the Resident.[15] All Germans and Austrains residing in Travancore were asked to surrender to the Resident within 24 hours, all arms and ammunition in their possession.[16] It was also stated in the Notification that infringement of these orders would entail expulsion from the state.[17]

The war had its impact on the finances of the state. The revenues for the year 1914–15 registered a sharp decline compared to the sound financial position of the preceding years. Travancore was a maritime state and customs and excise formed the mainstay of her finance. The sea-borne trade was adversely affected by the war and exports dwindled. There was a considerable decline in the revenues from customs, stamps and registration in 1914–15.[18] But there was compensation from other sources. In 1916–'17 the State received more than two lakhs of rupees by way of interest on loans made to the Government of India.[19] Reference was already made to the substantial sum of Rs. 15 lakhs invested by the State in the Government of India War Bonds. Realising the merits of such investments, a further sum of Rs. 10 lakhs was invested in War Bonds during the year 1917–18.[20] While revenues under certain heads declined, expenditure steadily increased during the war period. In 1918–'19 an extraordinary expenditure to the tune of Rs. 8 lakhs was incurred and the increase was partly due to contributions made to the war funds.[21]

The war brought about a definite change in the attitude of the British Government towards the India States. The Princes rallied

14. *Ibid.*
15. *Travancore Government Gazette*, dated 8 Sept., 1914.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. T. K. Velu Pillai, *The Travancore State Manual*, (Vol. II), (Trivandrum, 1940), p. 708.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*

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to fight for the Empire in its hour of peril and offered to place their resources at the disposal of the Paramount Power. "Not only did they help Britian lavishly with men, material and money but some of them even served as officers in the different theatres of war."[22] Some of the leading princes who participated in the war time conferences convened by the Viceroy stressed the essential identity of interests between the states and the British Indian Provinces. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on constitutional Reforms there was special reference to the princes and their problems. The authors of the Report urged that steps should be taken for joint consultation by the rulers of Indian States for the promotion of their common interests and recommended the formation of a permanent consultative committee.[23] The Chamber of Princes was accordingly set up in 1921. All those rulers who were entitled to permanent dynastic salutes of eleven guns and more were qualified for individual admission. The Maharaja of Travancore was entitled to a salute of 19 guns and the state was admitted to the Chamber as a fullfledged member. The establishment of the Chamber of Princes ended the period of isolation and inaugurated a policy of active cooperation among the rulers.

The Second World War afforded greater opportunities to the Princes to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown. The Congress which gave unconditional support to Britian in the First War now adopted a hostile attitude. The Congress Working Committee characterised the war as an imperialist war and categorically stated that they "cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialistic lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere."[24] Under the circumstances, Britian could count only on the loyal support of the native Princes and more reliance was placed on their co-operation. The Princes, on their part reaffirmed their loyalty to the British Crown and wholeheartedly supported the cause of the Empire.

22. V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, (New York, 1956), p. 12.
23. *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, para, 306.
24. *The Resolution of the Congress Working Committee*, dated 15 Sept. 1939.

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As soon as war was declared, the Maharaja of Travancore issued a proclamation promulgating the Defence of Travancore Rules.[25] It was a comprehensive document consisting of 131 sections drawn up largely on the lines of the Defence of India Rules issued by the Government of India on 3 Sep. 1939.[26] The Defence of Travancore Rules, among other things, imposed restrictions on the movements and activities of persons, denied access to certain places and areas, imposed restrictions on foreigners and adequately provided for the control of arms and explosives. As a loyal ally of the British Crown the Maharaja placed the entire resources of his state at the disposal of the British Goverment.[27] Of all the states in India, Travancore was worst hit by this war. Commenting on the gravity of the situation, Sri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore said: "I can assert with some confidence that excepting the centres of war like England or the Near East there is perhaps no part of the far-flung British Empire where the impact or the disastrous consequences of the war are more evident than in the state of Travancore."[28] While the other states derived the bulk of their income from land revenue and related heads, Travancore, being a maritime state, concentrated on her exports and hence customs duties formed an important part of her revenues. Food production was neglected and more lands were brought under the cultivation of commercial crops like tea, rubber, pepper, cardamom and ginger which yielded substantial income to the state. The growing competition from countries like Ceylon, Burma and Malaya which were also engaged in the cultivation of cash crops and restrictions imposed on exports by the war put great strain on the economy of the state. Neglect of food production made the state depend on Burma and Siam for import of rice, which was the staple diet of her people. In times of war it became increasingly difficult for the state to procure supplies from outside. The Japanese conquest of Burma cut off all supplies from that source. The Dewan said. "Export and import on which Travancore mainly relies for sustenance—not for profit so much

25. *Travancore Government Gazette, Extraordinary,* dated 9 Sep. 1939.
26. For details see the *Gazette of India Extraordinary,* dated 3 Sep. 1939.
27. *Report on the Administration of Travancore for* 1939-40, p. 8.
28. Dewan's Budget speech, dated 21 July 1941 (see, *Proceedings of the Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly,* Vol. XVIII, p. 20).

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as for sustenance—these are greatly threatened.'[29] That Britain should win this war thus became a necessity for Travancore and the sooner it was achieved the better for both sides.

As a trusted ally of the British Government, the Maharaja of Travancore rendered assistance to Britian's war effort on a massive scale. The administrative machinery of the state was geared to meet the needs of the war. An all-out effort was made at all levels of state activity to raise men, material and money for the war. The quantum of assistance rendered was so great and so varied that it should be assessed under appropriate heads.

The contributions made by Travancore to the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Air Force deserve special mention. A warship built at a cost of Rs. 6½ lakhs was presented to the Navy.[30] It was a trawler and a mine sweeper named "H.M.I.S. Travancore" the first warship to be built in India. To the Royal Air Force the Maharaja contributed two fighter planes "Travancore I" and "Travancore II" at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs. The Viceroy, in a communique, expressed his gratitude to the Maharaja for this generous gift.[31] The Travancore State Forces were also placed at the disposal of the British Government. Two infantry divisions of the State Forces were sent on active Service. They were attached to the Indian Army but the entire expenditure for their maintenance was borne by the State Government.[32] Consequent on the departure of these two infantry divisions, the military strength of the State was considerably depleted and a third infantry division was raised for the task of maintaining internal security. A Signal Platoon of this division was deputed for active service with the Indian Signal Corps. Another unit called the Travancore General Purposes Transport Company was also formed and the company left the state in May, 1941 for active service. Apart from these contributions, the Maharaja donated liberally to the Viceroy's war fund and various organisations engaged in relief work.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Travancore Information* for July 1941, p. 12.

31. Communique, dated 15 Jan. 1941 (See *Travancore Information* for February 1941, p. 76).

32. *Travancore Information and Listener* for Oct. 1943, p. 46.

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The contributions made by the ruler of Travancore amounted to Rs. 28,51,050 as apportioned below:[33]

1.	The Cost of the Trawler presented to the Navy ..	Rs.	6,50,000
2.	The Cost of two fighter planes donated to the Air Force ..	,,	1,50,000
3.	To the Viceroy's War Fund ..	,,	15,35,050
4.	To the Viceroy's Comforts Fund ..	,,	2,00,000
5.	Towards Women's Work ..	,,	1,50,000
6.	To the Red Cross ..	,,	1,10,000
7.	To King George's Fund for Sailors ..	,,	30,000
8.	Other contributions ..	,,	26 000
	Total ..	,,	28,51,050

To ensure people's participation and to coordinate their war efforts, the Travancore War Purposes Central Committee was formed with the Dewan as its president.[34] Three District Committees, 17 municipal Committees and a number of Taluk Committees were also formed for the purpose and their activities were coordinated by the Central Committee. To ensure efficiency and speed, the Central Committee functioned through its Sub-Committees such as 1. The Executive Committee; 2. Finance Sub-Committee; 3. Women's Sub-Committee; 4. Sub-Committee for training in first aid and fire fighting; 5. Sub-Committee for propaganda.

Under the auspices of the Women's Sub-Committee, the Women of Travancore made notable contributions to the war effort. Centres were opened for knitting garments and making surgical appliances. Eleven packing cases filled with such articles were sent to the Madras branch of the Joint War Charities for despatch to troops and military hospitals. The women of Travancore also provided one complete ambulance unit out of Rs. 4,500 generously contri d by Her Highness Sethu Parvati Bai and

33. The amount shown is exclusive of the cost of maintaining two infantry divisions on active service at enhanced rates of pay.

34. *Administration Report* for 1939-'40, p. 8.

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presented the military hospitals at Colaba and Karachi with two x-ray sets at a cost of Rs. 6,500/- out of subscriptions collected from the Women of Trivandrum.[35] The work done by the Women's Sub-Committee for the Red Cross was also highly commendable.

Besides contributions made in men and money, Travancore supplied essential war materials to the Government of India. Articles like rubber, tea, timber, coir and carbonised coconut shells were supplied by the state in large quantities to meet the needs of the supply Departments of the Government of India. The Rubber factory at Trivandrum and the Ceramic factory at Kundara stepped up production to meet the needs of war. Travancore was the chief supplier of rubber to the Government of India for defence purposes.[36] The forest department of the Travancore Government supplied valuable timber for defence purposes. In addition to the supplies made through Government agencies, private firms also supplied many articles ordered by the Central Government. The leading firms and industrialists of the state organised themselvss as the Travancore War Supplies Syndicate to deal with massive orders placed by the British Government. To coordinate the activities of the various organisations engaged in war supplies, the State Government appointed a Controller of War Supplies, to act as a laison officer between the Government of India and the Travancore War Supplies Syndicate.[37]

The Coir Industry, which employed a large number of people and brought considerable revenue to the State in normal times, suffered a heavy set-back during the war. The loss of its European markets created a slump in the coir industry throwing thousands of people out of employment. The State Government appealed to the Government of India to consider the suitability of coir materials for war purposes. The request was considered favourably and the State Government received substantial orders for the supply of tent components made of coir.[38] The industry was thus saved from impending ruin. Due to acute shortage of coal in war time,

35. *Travancore Information for August* 1941, p. 56.
36. *Administration Report for the year* 1944-45, p. 10.
37. *Administration Report for* 1940-41, p. 15.
38. *Ibid.*

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there was great demand for carbonised coconut shell which could be used in certain cases as a substitute for coal. Travancore, which abounded in coconut and coconut products, was naturally approached by the Government of India for the supply of this commodity in large quantities. Production of carbonised coconut shell was taken up as a cottage industry in the villages of Travancore. The State supplied 16,000 tons of carbonised coconut shell to the value of Rs. 14 lakhs.[39]

Travancore provided an excellent recruiting ground for the Indian Army. To facilitate recruitment, a Central War Recruiting Committee was set up.[40] The committee selected 449 candidates for the King's commission in the various fighting forces. By the end of the year 1944–45, in addition to the Commissioned Officers and a large number of technicians, 81,300 men from Travancore joined the war service.[41] To provide an adequate supply of labour force to the Indian Army, 93 labour units of about 845 men each were sent from the state to work in Assam and the neighbouring places.[42] About 1,800 technicians were trained in the State and sent out for service in the Indian Army, Ordnance factories and firms engaged in defence production. Travancore and Mysore, between themselves supplied half the trained technical personnel recruited from the Indian States.[43] Several doctors, nurses and engineers from Travancore also joined war service. The recruits from Travancore, wherever they served, distinguished themselves by their exceptional ability, valour and devotion to duty. Travancore stood first among Indian States in the matter of recruitment to the fighting forces.[44] The War Department of the Government of India expressed their gratitude to the Travancore Government for the splendid and untiring support extended to the cause of recruitment throughout the war.[45]

39. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
40. *Administration Report for* 1944-45, p. 9.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. Dewan's speech of 14 May 1945. (See *Travancore Information and Listener for June* 1945, p. 17.
44. *Administration Report for* 1944-45, p. 9.
45. *Ibid.*

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The University of Travancore also played an important role in organising the war effort. In response to an appeal from the Government of India, the University offered to give youngmen technical training for employment in the various technical branches of the Indian army. The workshop of the College of Engineering at Trivandrum worked day and night turning out technicians on a large scale.[46] The University also agreed to admit to its courses Indian students whose studies in British Universities were disrupted by the war.[47]

The foregoing review reveals the nature and implications of the reciprocal relationship that existed between Travancore and the Paramount Power in times of international conflicts. The war provided the occasion for Britain and the Native states of India to realise how much they needed each other's help in times of emergency. The generous contributions made by the Indian states proved their steadfast loyalty to the British crown. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in his speech on the occasion of the Victory Day celebrations, disclosed that out of the 11.64 crores of rupees received by the Viceroy's War purposes Fund for giving relief to the Combatant Forces, a sum of 6.5 crores was contributed by the Indian states alone.[48] The unflinching loyalty shown by the Indian States was particularly significant at a time when the political situation in India was tense. The refusal of the Congress to co-operate with Britain in the war, the Quit India Movement launched by Gandhiji, the growth of terrorist activities in the country and the rapid advance of the Japanese troops to the borders of India—all these disturbing factors made Britain lean heavily on the Indian princes at a time when she was passing through one of the worst crises in history.

The rulers of the States knew that their fortunes were closely linked with those of the Paramount Power and for them it was essential that Britain should come out of the war unscathed. Britain's victory in the Second World War was indispensable for

46. *Administration Report for* 1940-41, p. 14.
47. *Administration Report for* 1939-40, p. 8.
48. Speech at Trivandrum, dated 14 May 1945. (See *Travancore Information and Listener for June*, 1945, p. 16).

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the very survival of the states. At a time when their own position was threatened by the onset of political agitation within their borders, victory for the Empire was their only hope. Being autocrats they persistently refused to share power with their people and adopted a policy of repression in dealing with popular movements in their states. They realised that they were isolated from their people and this realisation made them cling to the Paramount Power for their own survival. It was in this context that they placed themselves and the entire resources of their states at the disposal of the British Government.

Among the Native States of India, Travancore enjoyed a unique position and for that reason she had to feel the full impact of international conflicts. In point of literacy Travancore was far ahead of the rest of the country and her people were more politically conscious than those of the other states. During the Second World War the political situation in the state was tense. The Travancore State Congress intensified their agitation to press their demand for responsible government. The Quit India Movement had serious repercussions in the state. The administration headed by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar adopted repressive measures to meet the situation. Under the circumstances it became all the more necessary for the royal house of Travancore to get the sympathy and support of Great Britain to maintain their position. The peculiar situation in which the state was placed and the special problems it had to face largely explain the profusion of loyalty shown by the ruler and the generous contributions made by him to the war effort.

Another reason that prompted the state to stand by Britain and contribute so liberally to the war effort was her vulnerability to attacks from the sea. Being a maritime state with a long coast line, she was naturally exposed to such attacks. Dependence on imported food and the export of commercial crops to sustain her economy made her position insecure in times of war. Such were the problems of a maritime state like Travancore and no wonder, of all the Indian states, she was most interested in contributing to Britain's war effort.

Sentiment also played its part in strengthening the bond between Travancore and the Paramount Power during this crucial

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period. Ever since Martanda Varma gave his dying injunction to the heir apparent that the friendship and alliance between the state and the British Government must be maintained at all cost, the rulers of Travancore bound themselves by the closest ties to the British Power. True to the traditions of their illustrious house, which for a century and a half stood by the side of Great Britian as a staunch ally and a faithful friend, the rulers of Travancore responded magnificently to the call of the Empire in times of war and amply demonstrated their loyalty to the British crown by their words and their deeds.

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The Problem of Two Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscriptions

BY

B. C. SINHA

The successor of Vasumitra is called Bhadraka in the Bhagavata Purāṇa, Ardraka and Odruka in the Viṣṇu, Andhraka in the Vāyu and Antaka in the Matsya Purāṇa.[1] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal identified him with Udaka, a name occuring in Pabhosa inscription, No. 904. He has given good reason for supposing that the original form, from which all these varieties are derived was Oduaka.[2] But we must recognise that an error has crept into the text of the Purānas, which as they stand assign either two or seven years to this king.[3] The Pabhosa epigraph has been translated thus: "By Asodhsena, the son of Gopali Vaihidari and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra, son of Gopali, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udaka for the use of the Kassapia Arhats." We learn from another Pabhosa inscription that Asadhasena belonged to the royal family of Ahichhatra, the capital of North Pāñcāla. Dr. Jayaswal held that Odraka was the paramount Sunga sovereign, while the family of Asadhosena was feudatory to the Sungas. The identification of Odraka with Udaka has no solid basis. Is it not possible that this Udaka might have been a ruler of Ahichhatra and Asadhasena was his near relative? Pabhosa inscription only says that Asadhasena belonged to the royal family of Ahichhatra. Dr. Barua[4] points out that in the absence of the word Rajnọ preceding Udaka, it is difficult to say at once whether Udaka is the personal name of a king, or the local name of a place, where the cave was excavated.

1. H. C. Raichoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 328.
2. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 469.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1917, pp. 473-5.
4. *IHQ*, 1930, p. 28.

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Sir John Marshall[5] on the other hand identified the so called fifth Sunga king with Kasiputra Bhagabhadra mentioned in a Garuda Pillar inscription found in the old city of Vidisa. Dr. Jayaswal identified Bhagabhadra with the ninth Sunga king Bhagavata of the Puranas. But this theory has to be given up in view of the discovery of another Besnagar Garuda Pillar inscription of the 12th year after the installation of Maharaja Bhagavata. It proves that there was at Vidisa, a king named Bhagavata apart from Kasiputra Bhagabhadra. In the absence of clear evidence connecting "Udaka" with Vidiśa, it cannot be confidently asserted that he belonged to the house of Agnimitra and Bhagavata."[6] In fact the so-called fifth, sixth and seventh Sunga monarchs were, Andhra rulers. The fourth Sunga king Vasumitra took up the life of ease and pleasure. The result was that the Sunga empire began to disintegrate. Bana tells us that he was killed by some Muladeva while enjoying a concert. Taking advantage of the murder of Vasumitra, Andhras occupied the throne at Pataliputra. Andhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha, these three appear to be extraneous to the Sunga dynasty as their inclusion creates a chronological anomaly. The Puranas assign a total duration of 112 years to the Sunga dynasty. But if we add up the period of these three kings, the total comes to 120 years. By excluding their period of 8 years we arrive at the true figure of 112 years.

At the time of Andhra occupation of Pataliputra Bhagabhadra the local viceroy of Vidiśa maintained his position against the Andhras. He might have been a close relation of the Sungas. We further assume that he was appointed Viceroy of Vidisa, during the reign of Vasumitra. Vasumitra was ruling at Pataliputra and after his murder Bhagabhadra declared himself the king of Vidiśa.

But it has to be remembered that he always remained loyal to the Sunga family. In order to strengthen his position against the Andhras he sought friendly alliance with the Indo-Greeks. This alliance was in the interest of both the parties. We learn from Besnagar inscription of the reign of Bhagabhadra that Maharaja Antialkidas of Taxila sent his ambassador Heliodoros to Vidiśa

5. Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 11.
6. H. C. Raichoudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

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when king Bhagabhadra was prospering in the fourteenth year of his reign. It was with the help of Bhagabhadra that the Sungas regained their position after 8 years of the Andhra rule. Vajramitra might have been the son of Vasumitra. Now there is no difficulty about the other Besnagar Garuda Pillar inscription of the twelfth year after the installation of Maharaja Bhagavata. He appears to be the ninth Sunga king according to the Puranic list, who had a long reign of 32 years.

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Reviews

McCRINDLE'S ANCIENT INDIA, AS DESCRIBED BY MEGASTHENES AND ARRIAN, edited by Ramachandra Jain, Director, Institute of Bharatological Research, Sriganganagar, Rajasthan, published by Today & Tomorrow's Printers & Publishers, New Delhi, 1972, pp. LI + 263. Price Rs. 50/-

This book, a reprint of *McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (originally published in 1877) is now being republished with a conculturuum, appendices, notes, bibliography and index by the editor.

The editor mentions in the Preface that the available histories of Bhārata suffer from several defects. One of the defects he mentions is that "the Bhāratīya historians give undue weightage to the Vedic and the Puranic sources of the Bhāratīya history." (p. V). He now sets out in his conculturuum to correct the errors in the present histories of India, in relation to the period of Megasthenes. Some of the corrections he proposes may be summarised as follows:

(i) The sixteen Mahajanapadas were full-fledged jana republics, which after the first foreign 'Brahmaryan' conquest of Western Bhārata, became 'ganaised' or tribalised. The powerful centralised authority at the centre was developed to meet the extraneous onslaughts, keeping intact the republican pattern at the base.' (p. xi).

(ii) The matriarchal system prevailed in Bhārata before the introduction of the patriarchal system by the foreign Brahmaryans. (p. xix).

(iii) 'The great Shramanic hero' Ajātaśatru of the Nāga dynasty founded the city of Pāṭalīputra 'to suit his imperialistic ambitions newly introduced in Bhārata by Indra and his companions [of the Brahmaryans]' (p. xx).

(iv) The description of the Śramaṇic and Brāhmaṇic philosophy by Megasthenes 'categorically proves that the Shramanic

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philosophy belonged to the pre-Brahmanic age and was much anterior to the rise of the Brahmanic philosophy and diffused its light to the Greekaryan gentiles and to the Brahmaryan gentiles too' (p. xxiii).

(v) The Uttarakuru region, located to the south of the circumpolar region and to the north of the Caspian and the Aral Seas, "was the Aryan cradle-land" (p. xxvii).

(vi) Candragupta Maurya was a powerful and glorious monarch of the Prācya people. The people living to the east of Ahisthala (modern Hastinapur) were known to the Brahmāryans as the Prācyas. "All the Prachyas were considered by the Brahmanas as Asuras, the non-Aryan Bharatiya people .... These Prachyas were anti-Brahmanical people" (pp. xxix-xxx).

(vii) D. C. Sircar and some earlier scholars have identified 'Taprobane' with Ceylon, but this seems clearly to be wrong. "Taprobane island was somewhere near the Patala island in the lower Sindh region" (p. xxxviii).

(viii) "The Prachya Bharata had been enjoying republican institutions even after their annihilation in western Bharata. When the Brahmaryan onslaughts increased on the east, the eastern republics changed their pattern. The whole republican pattern was kept intact .... Ajatashatru led the way of more political centralisation at the head, which Chandragupta efficiently perfected, keeping intact the living republican traditions" (p. xliv).

These and other corrections proposed by the editor are highly controversial and the correctness of some of them are dubious. To consider only two specimens —

(1) The editor's contention that the Sixteen Mahajanapadas were "full-fledged jana republics" is not correct. A number of them, e.g. Kōsala, Magadha, Avanti etc. were monarchies. He further contends that these Prācya republics developed a powerful centralised authority to meet the onslaughts of the foreign invaders (whom he calls the Brahmaryans), keeping intact the republican pattern at the base. The idea of a monarchy, keeping intact the republican base is a strange pattern of political development indeed!

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(2) The editor disagrees with D. C. Sircar's identification of 'Taprobane' with Ceylon. In his opinion, "Taprobane island was somewhere near the Patala island in the lower Sindh region." This identification is clearly against its mention in the Girnar rock edict of Asoka as 'Taṁbapaññī.' The Pāli word is obviously a derivative of the Ṣiṅhalese original 'Tāmbaravari' (the united stream) (cf. N. L. Dey): *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (Oriental Reprint, 1971, 9. 203). Further clarification is obtained from Megasthenes himself, who describes the country as "more productive of gold and large pearls than India," and "abounds with wild beasts and elephants much larger than India breeds." (pp. 62–63). The editor's conjecture that it is 'somewhere near the Patala island' cannot meet these references. The dubious identification of its people, the 'Palaiogonai,' with 'Pāli–janas' (or the editor's 'Para–janas') cannot settle the issue, and hence the identification on its basis must remain a conjecture.

Besides the conculturuum and the Texts of Megasthenes and Arrian, there are six appendices, of which one is on historical personages and another on the historicity and age of Cāṇakya. The identification of several Indian personages is open to question. Regarding the historicity and the age of Cāṇakya, the editor states that "the Arthashastra .... could not have come in existence in the age of Chandragupta Maurya" (p. 237) and hence its authorship by Cāṇakya dubious. Regarding the role of Cāṇakya, the editor states that he was "a very small and inconspicuous collaborator of Chandragupta and hence, he found no recognition anywhere, not even in the Mauryan court" (p. 245). "The Arthashastra depicts the language, the society, the polity, the customs and manners, the economic system and thoughts of the Imperial Gupta age and not of the Maurya age" (p. 241). Even conceding that the Arthaśāstra was not written by Cāṇakya, nor in the period of Candragupta Maurya, its internal evidence does not conclusively prove that it was written during the period of the Imperial Guptas either.

The book also contains a bibliography, an index and an errata list. The errata list is however not exhaustive. The printing and get-up of the book are good.

A. P. Ibrahimkunju

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SIR JADUNATH SARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME, English Translation of *Tārikh i Dilkasha* (Memoirs of Bhimsen relating to Aurangzib's Deccan Campaigns)—Edited with notes and introduction by V. G. Khobrekar, Director of Archives & Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra. Published by the Department of Archives, Maharashtra, Bombay, January, 1972. Pp. 1–288, xiii, Price Rs. 5.25.

The book seeks to commemorate the birth centenary of Sir Jadunath Sarkar (born, 10 December, 1870). The Director of Archives & Archaeology, Maharashtra has earned the sincere gratitude of the scholarly world for his great service in publishing it. In a short but valuable Introduction he has highlighted the interesting details about the author's life, described the mss. of Bhimsen's work and summed up the narrative. The Education Minister of Maharashtra has written the foreword.

It is indeed a fitting tribute to Jadunath's scholarship. The choice of this book for the commemoration volume also has been singularly fortunate. During his long *sadhana* extending to nearly 67 years (1891–1958) he had ceaselessly endeavoured to ransack source materials of history from different parts of Asia and Europe and make them available to scholars. Some of them were translated by him and published during his lifetime but many others, though translated, did not see the light of the day. The present work not only includes such an unpublished translation of a part of the memoirs of Bhimsen made by him but supplements it with a translation of another part. Again, the major content of these memoirs covers the history and geography of Peninsular India and especially of the Marathas and their country. Jadunath had very intimate contacts with Maharashtra and regarded it as his second home, cherished a high opinion about the Maratha mind, society and people. He carried on extensive tours in villages, towns and forts of Maharashtra for his historical researches, almost exactly in the same manner as an army officer would do and as Bhimsen actually did. Further Jadunath had a very high opinion about Bhimsen's qualities as a historian: "The value of Bhimsen's history lies in his extensive and accurate personal observation and his position .... He is .... free from the worst defects of the official

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histories of the Mughal Emperors. Bhimsen knew the truth and could afford to tell it. He has also given true sketches of the characters of various historical personages of the time and pointed out their defects .... For Deccan history in the late 17th century, he is invaluable."

The book is based on the mss. found in the India Office and the British Museum and hence is divided into two parts. Part I contains a translation made by the Maharashtra department of Archives from the photostat copy of *Tarikh i Dilkasha* preserved in India Office Library (mss. 94, ff. 1–104). It deals with the Mughal penetration to the Deccan up to the capture of Golkonda in 1687. This part has 33 chapters as follows: Chapter I. Invocations (pp. 1–2); Chapter II—Early History of Rao Dalpat Bundela (pp. 3–11); Chapter III—Aurangzeb's success in the War of Succession (pp. 12–23); Chapters IV–XXXIII dealing with the first 30 years of Aurangzeb's reign, Samvat 1714–43 or A.D. 1658–9 to 1687–88 (pp. 24–161). An abridged but partly incorrect translation of this part was published by Capt. Jonathan Scott, the Persian Secretary of Col. Popham in 1794 as 'Journal of a Boondelah Officer.' Translations in Marathi from this were made by Pandurang Narsimha Patwardhan in 1920 and Setu Madhav Rao Pagdi in 1963.

Part II contains the translation made by the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar from copy of *Nuskha i Dilkasha* preserved in British Museum (Mss. Or. 23 ff 95–158). It deals with the story of Mughal–Maratha struggle from 1687–88 up to Aurangzeb's death in 1707. This contains 20 chapters from 30th to 49th year of Aurangzeb's reign Samvat 1743–1762 (A.D. 1687–88 to 1706–07).

Of the few Hindu historians writing in Persian during the Mughal period Bhimsen Burhanpuri certainly occupies a very distinguished place. He has left enough material in his memoirs to enable his readers to know about his life, character, philosophy,—in brief as a man and as a writer. A Saksena kayastha of Uttar Pradesh, Bhimsen came to the Deccan in Mughal service along with his father, an accounts officer of artillery (*mushrif*), who settled in Burhanpur. At first he was his father's deputy, rising to an officer's post under Daud Khan and later as *mushrif* (1673–89) under Bahadur Khan, Governor of the Deccan. His uncle, Dianat Rai, was diwan of the Deccan. In 1689 Bhimsen became Secretary

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of Rao Dalapat Bundela, the raja of Datia and the righthand man of Zulfiqar Khan. On the latter's death in 1707 he retired and wrote his memoirs in Persian (pp. 20, 22, 37, 38, 40, 63). He was an eyewitness of the events recorded here. He himself wrote his "impressions ... consciously gained by experience or observation ... without any omission or addition." Expecting that "its reading and its meaning will evoke attraction and pleasure," he named it *Dilkasha* (p. 5). His humility is reflected in his acknowledgment that he was able to produce this work owing to divine kindness, "when firmness of heart, consolidation of the inner-self, purity of deeds and improvements in general conditions, are not to be found." (p. 2). He hints at his philosophy of life and of history when he writes that by giving up his service and rank and living a retired life at Datia and Gwalior he "took the corner of isolation away from the society of men of wealth and fortune" so as "to keep his heart away from the chain of links of various relations which would enable me to have a firm collar of discarding this thing." (p. 2). Occasionally while writing his memoir he has made remarks on himself which are revealing. During his official career he "managed things in a worthy way and to the satisfaction of people ... and did not consider gold as better than rubbish" and now at its end he prayed to God for "'recompense for my good deeds," and forgiveness for the bad ones. (p. 172). Even when suffering "from lack of resources" he had the strength to write that "courage looks all the more beautiful in the midst of poverty" (p. 223). A kind-hearted man, he used to love children (p. 60) and also enjoyed mirth. His love of nature and sense of beauty are also expressed at different places e.g., when he speaks of blossoming *champa* flowers in Bijapur (p. 166).

In some respects Bhimsen's style is comparable to that of contemporary Muslim writers. Though a Hindu he used the latter's terminology of abuse towards the Marathas and other Hindus, e.g. 'wretched infidels' (p. 71), 'condemned culprits' (p. 72), Shivaji's 'accursed place' of residence (p. 127), 'mischief mongers' (p. 134), 'luckless ones' (p. 173). He has also followed the Muslim tradition of tracing the genealogy of a person referred to (pp. 3, 8, 22, 56). His philosophic temper is also reflected in frequently interspersing his narrative, like other contemporary Muslim writers, with apt verses, e.g., 'It is bad .... to think oneself to be better than others.

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The lesson should be learnt from the pupil of the eye which sees one and all but itself' (p. 1). 'The only end in this world is this that the name remained here after death' (p. 21); 'The beauty of character and manners is the ornament of this world and religion. It is supposed to be good if it is with a beggar but it becomes excellent when it is found in the King' (p. 40); 'None can complete the work of the world fully. Hence whatever you do let it be within your resources' (p. 59); 'To do good to the evil people is like doing harm to good people' (65); 'The heart of a sincere friend is like a mirror in which is reflected the entire world and thus there is no point in expressing a desire, because it is obvious to a friend' (p. 77); 'Don't give up hope at the time of hardship and trouble because the black cloud brings white water' (p. 84). Sometimes these verses are full of satire.

However, unlike many Persian writers and official historians Bhimsen does not write in ornate, verbose and rhetorical style. He writes in simple, business-like prose, and does not indulge in courtly flattery. Further though the chapters are arranged according to the regnal years, he does not give the *Hejira* dates like the Muslim writers but mentions Vikram *Samvat* years.

Bhimsen's memoirs are of engrossing interest on account of their varied content. While political and military affairs do get precedence, he being an officer of the Mughal empire, these are enriched by reference to other aspects—namely administrative details, military technique and art of war, and socio-economic life. What he gives is valuable primarily because he was an eye-witness and he had a good eye for details. Being in intimate contact with many high officials, he could get accurate information. Yet he could be independent in his remarks as he did not write for royal ears.

As regards political history even as regards wellknown episodes Bhimsen's account is different. He did not have a high opinion about Shivaji (p. 49) and considers him to be the aggressor in the Afzal Khan incident (pp. 16–17). Regarding Shivaji's visit to Agra (p. 48) Bhimsen's account is somewhat different. The route of his escape (pp. 48–51) agrees with that of Khafi Khan and so differs from the evidence gleaned from Dingal letters. The account of Purandar campaign 1665 (pp. 44–45) generally agrees with that

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of the *Haft Anjuman*, except that the present work mentions 24 forts as against 23 of the *Haft Anjuman* and *Alamgirnamah*. Bhimsen has mentioned some facts not otherwise known, e.g. the appeal of the Bahmani Sultan Kalimullah to Babur against the usurpation of Barid (p. 220); the first Maratha raid into Malwa by Krishna Sawant (p. 216); and new details about Udairaj, Munshi of Jai Singh I (p. 53). He is the only contemporary writer to mention Rajaram's natural son Karna (p. 218).

Bhimsen's character sketches are excellent, being short, useful and marked by an independent spirit. He considers Mirza Raja Jai Singh to be 'unique' for his pleasant manners and 'excessive ways of generosity and benevolence,' high scholarship and knowledge of Persian and Turki (pp. 52–3). Curiously enough his opinion about Shivaji was not very high, though he has praised the latter's straightforwardness, qualities as a soldier and administrator, secretiveness, shrewdness and cunning (p. 127). His estimate of Aurangzeb shows his independence: "I have found the men of the world very greedy, so much so that an Emperor like Alamgir who is not want of anything' has been seized with such a longing and passion for taking forts that he personally runs about panting for some heaps of stone" (p. 223). "The Emperor... has given up attending to the happiness of his subjects. The *wazirs* and *umaras* have turned aside from giving good counsels. Therefore the condition of the country has become otherwise and it has reached such a ruin (that) the enemy are everywhere predominant and oppressive (but) nobody resists them" (p. 240). There are estimates also of many other personalities like Dilir Khan, Prince Muazzam, Mahabat Khan, Zulfiqar Subh Karan, Rao Karan, Sambhaji and Tarabai.

The book is valuable also for interesting sidelights on administration of the period (pp. 64, 100, 142)—the problems created by prolonged warfare, decline of administration (pp. 231–2), designations of various offices and the names of their holders, changes in staff, construction of public works like mosques (31), opening of sarais (61). We read of a novel administrative practice in those days, viz., supervisory control over officers (pp. 58–62). We have numerous references to problems of land revenue, prices

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of articles, and causes of their rise (20, 31). We are told how during periods of wars and plunders by soldiers grain and provisions became scarce, prices rose.

From the numerous interesting sidelights thrown by the memoirs on military campaigns it is clear that Bhimsen had a full grasp of the contemporary art of war. His account shows how geography—terrain and climate–influenced war. The difficulties presented by hills, passes (pp. 94, 128), forests (p. 221), rains (pp. 215, 221–3), rivers (pp. 67, 124, 170), *nalahs* (p. 94) and the need of selecting a site for entrenchment (p. 248) are graphically mentioned while ravines and rivers were negotiated by ladders and bridges respectively (pp. 209, 150, 188). While praising the 'smart swordsmanship' of the Rajputs and the Afghans (p. 153), Bhimsen does not speak well of psychology of the Rohillas "utterly devoid of intelligence and commonsense" (p. 85) and the proud but rash Rajputs (pp. 196, 247). He, however, refers to the national sentiments of the Afghans of Bijapur coming to join their co–nationals at Naldurg (p. 110). We also get a vivid picture of Mughal and Maratha military organisation from Bhimsen's scattered observations. Narnol, Bundelkhand, Khandesh and the Deccan were spoken of as centres of recruitment (p. 34). He refers to his own promotion in spite of an anti–Hindu practice in the army that "the names of the Hindus were never recommended" (p. 83). He also refers to animals like horses and their branding, elephants (pp. 138, 189, 196, 234), camels and oxen (pp. 70, 187), of non–combatants including courtesans and prostitutes (p. 84), of arms, weapons and armour of the Mughals (p. 248), and of the Deccanis (p. 240). He speaks of rewards (pp. 49, 244), military accounts (p. 72), Mughal military intelligence and *dak chauki* (pp. 69, 80, 185, 212) and the efficacy of Maratha espionage (p. 36), of diplomatic and strategic service of the Mughals like *hajibs* and *vakils* (pp. 73, 89, 114, 150, 159). We are also told of special arms like Mughal artillery as well as of Bijapur artillery and use of gunpowder (pp. 34, 35, 39, 156, 157) in capturing Maratha forts. Not only do we have a long list of names of forts but good descriptions of many, e.g., Bidar and Parenda (pp. 13, 42), Malkol or Golkonda (p. 14), Ramgir (p. 15), Daulatabad (p. 15), Chakan (p. 30), Trimbak (pp. 11, 32), Elichpur or Berar (p. 33), Kondana (p. 39), Mahuli (p. 54), Ahiwant (pp. 55, 80), Ankai–Tankai (p. 78),

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Mulher & Sulher (p. 79), Kanchan Manchan (p. 80), Junnar and Shivner (p. 87), Antur (p. 93), Naldurg (p. 110), Gulbarga (p. 113), Malkhed (p. 116), Bhupalgarh (p. 123), Ramsej (p. 137), Bijapur (pp. 156–8), Adoni (p. 166), Jinji (pp. 182, 206–10), Warangal (p. 197), Palamkota (p. 195), Wakinkhere (p. 249). We are also told of repairs of forts (p. 120), and of sieges of many hill forts. It is again significant that we are told of a large number of temple forts (p. 193).

Bhimsen discusses at length the problems of what constitutes logistics now a days, the problems of transporting accommodating and feeding the huge armies on the move (pp. 117, 127, 140, 142, 152, 156, 160, 244, 246, 253–254). Description of tents, *karkhanas* (p. 171), commissariat arrangements are given. Grain supply and scarcity thereof (pp. 116, 180, 187–190, 224, 241, 178, 239, 253) proved to be a very acute problem notwithstanding the itinerant *banjaras* or grain merchants. Again the threat of insecurity on the high ways was ever present. To cope with this arrangements were made for road guards (p. 175). Bodies of slain robbers were piled up to a small hillock (cf *chor minars*, p. 176). The use of drums (pp. 81, 130) and banners (p. 79) is also mentioned. Bhimbsen has not forgotten the role of the astrologer (p. 81) and the supernatural (p. 92) in the army.

Referring to strategy and tactics of the belligerents Bhimsen speaks of deception (diplomatic cunning, p. 172), surprise night attacks (pp. 30, 36, 80, 185), ambushes (p. 54), siege preparations (pp. 136, 237), mining (pp. 30, 222), scaling (pp. 120, 140–1, 208, raising mounds (p. 246), trenches (pp. 179, 183, 185, 241). We are told of Mughal battle order (p. 196). We learn that Mughal strategy under Aurangzeb was different from that under Akbar. "It was the strategy of Khan–i–Khanan Abdur Rahim to charge the largest division of the enemy, Khan–i–Dauran's plan of war was first to drive the enemy's smaller divisions back upon their main force and then to fight vigorously." On the other hand "the armies of Hyderabad, as has been conventional with them, stormed from all the four directions."

Bhimsen has dilated on the guerilla activities of the Deccani soldiers (of Bijapur and Golkonda, p. 228). of the Marathas (pp. 184, 229, 238, 251, 253, 255) and of the Berads (pp. 125, 198, 246, 247). We are told that Malik Ambar was "quite efficient in

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performing the system of separation" and "holding the field from all the four sides" commonly known as *Bargi-giri* in the terminology of the Daknani languages (pp. 9, 71). The dispersal methods of the Marathas (pp. 92–3), roving and predatory activities, (*ghanimi*) plunder of provisions by the Marathas are frequently referred to (pp. 107, 117, 120, 123, 130, 200, 216, 226, 244). The Berad guerrillas 'returned from the fight as quickly as the echo from the hill' i.e., they were familiar with modern 'hit and run' tactics (p. 246). Sometimes the Marathas and the Berads acted in concert (p. 256).

Bhimsen displays his critical powers in his analysis of the weaknesses of the Mughal army. He attributes Shivaji's success in spite of his numerical inferiority against the Mughals, to his military skill and accurate topographical information obtained through spies (p. 36). Speaking of the Mughals, he refers to large desertions of Bahelias (Mavles?) (pp. 173, 186). He pinpoints the discomfiture of the Mughals to the system of recruitment by their generals: "The immature generals, out of greed of money and lack of spirit, did not engage men of family and high breed, the sons and grandsons of soldiers. Instead of such men, they mounted their slaves and brought them to the field, whose only work was to flee and turn back." (p. 247). He also accuses the Mughal generals of making wilful delay and protracting operations (pp. 207–8). He has drawn an interesting comparison in the sysetm of food supply between the times of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Formerly grain for two years' consumption was provided for the Qandahar campaign but now there was utter failure of supply of grain (p. 255). Thus Bhimsen supports Napoleon's dictum that an army moves on its stomach.

Besides references to political, administrative and military affairs, Bhimsen gives many interesting details regarding socio-economic life of the people, which are generally not referred to in contemporary chronicles. He thus introduced something new in the prevailing conception of history. He may justly be classed as a social historian of the times. A few examples are noted below. In his description of the places and sites visited by him, he gives topographical and geographical details besides historical. Thus we get names of numerous rural and urban centres, of holy places and commercial centres, e.g., the city of Burhanpur

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(pp. 5–7); history of the growth of the walled town of Aurangabad and description of the Deccan (pp. 7–10, 130–1), Ahmadnagar (pp. 75–6), holy places like Gulshanabad alias Nasik (pp. 32–34), Ellora (p. 33), Trimbak, Pravara Sangama (on the Godavari) (p. 242), Tuljapur, Jejuri, Tirupati (p. 200), Kanchi (p. 180), Ujjain, Hyderabad (151–2), Bijapur (p. 125),, Madras (p. 191), Phulcherry (Pondicherry, 194). Bhimsen does not forget to refer to the sweet grapes of Mulher and Nasik and delicious figs of Junnar, water melons and sweet melons of Bahadurgad. At the same time Bhimsen regretfully noticed the decline of several cities of the Deccan (p. 245).

Social customs have been faithfully recorded, e.g., birth ceremonies and illuminations (p. 59), marriage ceremonies (p. 51), feasts and parties (pp. 31, 60, 116). Bhimsen mentions the *sati rite* approvingly (pp. 60, 129). He records a curious case in which the wife of a dying Rajput was burnt alive at the desire of the husband (p. 99). Bhimsen has also mentioned assemblies of religious saints and mystics and the distribution of food in the function known as *bhandara* (p. 32). Nor has he forgotten to mention about the mausoleum of the famous Deccani saint Sayyid Gisu Daraj (p. 115). *Holi* festival was enjoyed by high Muslim nobles and officers like Bahadur Khan (p. 95). A very interesting light is thrown on Hindu Muslim relations by Bhimsen's reference to the temple of Khande Rao (pp. 235–6). The habit of drinking was fairly widespread among officers, both Hindu and Moslem, and Bhimsen records the death of his young relations due to this (pp. 172, 205). Bhimsen writes in a spirit of deep depression that "rich men in our times do not consider the lot of the poor. They sigh over their hoards .... Especially the high *umaras* and noblemen are in a wretched state, as they never think of the claims of the needy." (p. 242). This reference to class rift was made as Bhimsen thought rich man of his days had lost the earlier sense of generosity and charitable constructions of inns, wells, gardens and houses.

Bhimsen has left a graphic and forceful account of the sociological effects caused by prolonged warfare in the Deccan. He writes: "The general peace of the people was disturbed due to the presence of the soldiers at different points and places separately" (pp. 138, 150). How correct is this can easily be under-

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stood even in our days! He has especially referred to the growth of a new 'tent generation', as soldiers sick of long separation summoned their families to the camp. Their whole life from the cradle to the grave was spent in the camp. Never seeing the face of the house they realised that "in this world there is not better (other) shelter than a tent' (p. 233).

In the midst of this black cloud of widespread desolation we read of a silver lining viz., the rehabilitation of a 'totally ruined' village named Abula (in Nasik area) by an erstwhile Maratha robber, Raghav by name (1703–4), (p. 238).

We even get interesting anthropological details. We get a vivid description of the *Ban-manush* or wild savages on the way between Karnul and Nandiyal (p. 179); of the food habits and dress of the "naked inhabitants" of the Madras east coast (pp. 193–4); of the *stri-raj* (or women's rule) in Maliwar (Malabar) where 'every man has 10 or 11 wives and also every wife 10 or 11 husbands'; and of the *Rajiwar* or Rajputs settled in the Karnatak said to be the descendants of Rajah Jaichand of Kanauj (p. 197).

We get a glimpse of the economic life of the people of the Deccan. There are frequent references to prices of articles at different places at different times. Once during Shaista Khan's regime, we are told that grain was very cheap at Poona. Two Shahjahani maunds of wheat could be had at a rupee, while there were special concessions for soldiers in Khandesh, Berar and Baglan and fodder did not cost more than 15 rupees (p. 31). Prices, of course, rose very high on account of campaigns and sieges, plunder, dacoity and insecurity. In war-devastated Telingana grain sold at only 12 seers a rupee as against two Shahjahani maunds before (p. 229). Prices rose very high in the imperial camp during the siege of Khelna (Vishalgad), (p. 233).

Among interesting economic products we read of paper or plank dress. In 1688–9 Shambhuji and his companions were made to wear *takhta* like offenders in Persia, (p. 169). Speaking of the famous carpet industry (*qalin* and *shatranj*) of Warrangal, Bhimsen speaks of the *qalin* as of the same quality as the *qalin* of Wilayat (i.e. Afghanistan and Iran) (p. 198). The Rajah of Ceylon, where elephants were found, did not molest the traders. The elephants of Malabar are said to be the best in the world (p. 196).

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The notes and references appended by the editor are generally informative and useful. Printing and get-up are good. The price has been kept very low to the great credit of the Maharashtra government. This is in striking conformity to the late Jadunath's own idea that in our country books have to be cheap.

A few remarks may now be made about the sources and the bibliography. The Bibliotheque Nationale copy of Bhimsen's ms. referred to in the Introduction has not been utilised in the present work. It is not understood why Sir William Foster's book, *English Factories in India*, does not find a place in the bibliography, when that edited by Sir Charles Fawcett does. The metrical history *Aurangnamah* is not mentioned, though it throws much light on the War of Succession. All Persian sources used are in translation. Even no reference to Persian text is given except *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*. The *Haft Anjuman* of Taleyar Khan, munshi of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, has not been used. Even the reviewer's translation of its Benares ms. (*The Military despatches of a Seventeenth Century Indian General*) published nearly three years before this present work and his article on Punishment and Pardon of Ram Singh (*Journal of Indian History*), Brij Kishore's *Tara Bai and her Times* and S. N. Sen's *Shiva Chhatrapati* have not been mentioned in the Bibliography.

The reader notices a marked difference in the style between the translations in the two parts. Inconsistencies or mistakes have crept in at places. It is stated in the Introduction (p. xii) that Bhimsen's account ends with the battle of Jajau (June 1707). But the book really ends (p. 257) with Aurangzeb's death (20 February, 1707), It is not clear what is meant by "armies and the peoples". Certain terms have been left unexplained e.g., *Rasat Kabti* (p. 176), *Karbhari* (p. 48).

Notwithstanding great care bestowed on the publication by the editor and his staff, the printers' devil has appeared. A few examples are noted below: Tuglak *for* Tughlaq (p. 41); Kalifa for Khalifa (p. 43); a bush *for* ambush (p. 54); 3 *for* 2 (p. 55n); mirza and Mir reconciled (?) (p. 64); got relieved his brother (p. 83); Sambat 1729 (1763-74) should be 1673-4 (p. 100); I and Sayyid Kabir (p. 128); shadow of Gods *for* God (p. 131), *nagara* for *naqqara* (p. 133); Prince *for* the Prince (p. 145); He (p. 146) is not clear as two persons are mentioned before (perhaps Khwaja

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Shamsuddin); attacked upon *for* attacked (146); Khan-i-jahan *for* Jahan (173); Bakshi *for* Bakhshi (178), etc.

On the whole the work under review is a very valuable addition to the growing number of works on Medieval Indian History. Its chief merit lies in making this important source material of the seventeenth century available to scholars of this period in English.

J. N. SARKAR.

ŚRĪ VIṢṆUSAHASRANĀMABHĀṢYA of Satyasandha Yatiraja, edited by K. C. Kalkoti, Published by Agasthiar Book Depot, Tiruchirapalli-2, 1972, pp. 120. Rs. 2/-.

The *Viṣṇusahasranāmastotra* which forms part of the *Ānuśāsanikaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* consists of hundred holy names of Lord Viṣṇu and is the most popular work recited by all devout Hindus. The meaning and significance of each one of these appellations, some of them apparently repetitions, are sought to be given by several Ācāryas, and the earliest available work in this field is the *Bhāṣya* attributed to Ādi Śaṅkara, which naturally has an Advaitic leaning. The present work by Sri Satyasandhayatiraja of Uttaradi Mutt is a more elaborate exposition with a slight leaning towards the Dvaita Vedānta of Śrī Madhvācārya.

The commentary is elaborate and gives the roots and suffixes of every name and cites authority, particularly the basic works in the Madhva system. Several alternative explanations are given for many words. For instance, the simple word *paramātmā* is given as many as seven meanings among which are 'the soul which destroys enemies' (*paraḥ śatruḥ mīyate himsyate yena*). '*Padmanābha*' in addition to 'he who has the lotus in the navel' is given the rather strained meaning 'he who shines before his devotees,' the word being split up as *padmanā* and *ābha*, and the first word being taken as standing for devotees. Some alternative readings are also seen, as for instance *viniyojayaḥ* for *vinayo jayah*.

The work is of great help in understanding what each appellation of Viṣṇu in the *Sahasranāma* stands for in the concept of God as the Supreme Being manifesting in the cosmic form.

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

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ORISSA UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, by Dr. K. M. Patra (Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, pp. xix + 351, Rs. 42).

The rule of the East India Company over Orissa lasted for nearly fifty-five years, from 1805 to 1858. True, in 1765 Sir Robert Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, but the Orissa of the Imperial grant was nothing more than the single district of Midnapore. It was only in 1803, in the course of the Second Anglo-Maratha war, that Lord Wellesley wrested the rest of the province from Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur.

Throughout the period of Company's rule and for many years thereafter, Orissa was included in the Bengal Presidency and it was from Calcutta that the administration of Orissa was superintended, directed and controlled. To this fact, the author, like most other Oriyas, would attribute many of the ills that beset the province until it realised its separate political identity in the present century.

Investigating, as it does, a period of transition from the Maratha to the British rule, a period during which the foundations of modern Orissan administration were laid, the work is of more than ordinary interest, especially as its fairly comprehensive documentation makes it an indispensable reference book for the study of a hitherto little-known aspect of Orissan history.

History to be meaningful has to be basically a study of change and of the reasons for it. It must be said to the credit of the author that he treats administrative history as the growth of the administrative system, and, since there is no growth without change, he brings out all the relevant administrative changes, indicating the arguments both for and against the existing administrative measures and practices and the proposed reforms, as revealed in the contemporary debate among the men who ruled Orissa.

The author's narrative unfolds a tale of progressive improvement in the various facets of administration that he has covered in this book. Therefore, the concluding words of his final summing up come as something of a shock, for they are largely out

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of harmony with the findings which he records in the various chapters. This is what he says on the last page: "The period of the East India Company, instead of indicating any change for progress in the material condition of Orissa, left for the future a legacy of stagnation and economic deterioration." How would the author reconcile this sweeping generalisation with, for instance, his remark at the end of his survey of the history of the much-maligned salt monopoly under Company's rule a monopoly which was abolished four years after that rule was terminated that "the abolition of the salt monopoly gave a death blow to the commercial activities of the people of Orissa"?

J. P. DE SOUZA

HISTORY OF TIPU SULTAN: (Second and enlarged edition), by Mohibul Hasan, (Published by The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta), 1972, pp. xvi + 442, Price Rs. 35/-.

The magnificent story of the meteoric rise and fall of a kingdom and the fidgets of its architects is skilfully narrated in this book by Mohibul Hasan. Giving in broad outline the impetuous and volcanic character of Haider Ali Khan, he closely analyses the high strung temper, rabid hate, wise policies and fanatical outbursts of his son in a vindicative vein. This account of Tipu Sultan, based on a variety of primary and secondary sources, can be considered as a study in motives and achievements of a highly complex personage. The author claims that he has made an attempt "to give an accurate picture of Tipu Sultan by disengaging his personality from masses of fictions and distortions which have gathered round him." (p. VIII). However it may be pointed out that the picture of Tipu thus salvaged appears to lack a burning personality. Political and religious expediency demanded of him certain absolute action which, from his own point of view, required no explanation or justification. In his attempt to do justice to Tipu, the author errs into justifying his misdeeds also. At that point his objectivity vanishes and he poses as an apologist of Tipu.

It is surprising and often sickening to see the author indulging in polemical exercises in the place where prudent analysis is expected, in a manner much like an impulsive vakil of Tipu Sultan.

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producing witnesses who have perfected themselves in the art of perjury. An impartial observer of trends and events, ideas and movements of the period will find it difficult to accept many of the arguments presented here.

Prof. Hasan, in his anxiety to vindicate Tipu, accuses Rama Varma, the ruler of Travancore for constructing the 'Travancore Lines' and purchasing "Ayicotta and Cranganur from the Dutch knowing fully well that Tipu was also anxious to buy them." (pp. 154–5). If Tipu had the right to extend his territories, Rama Varma had no less a right to do so. Prof. Hasan says that Tipu wanted access to Palghat "both from the east and the west to be carefully guarded and for this purpose he was desirous of possessing himself of Cranganur" (p. 157). Defence of Palghat from Cranganore is a wild plan which a strategist like Tipu would never have contemplated because it is far removed from the Cranganore base.

What Tipu was interested in was the conquest of Travancore, to wreak vengeance against the intransigent ruler who disregarded the authority of his father. The arguments forwarded by the author to prove the contrary are puerile. For instance he says that the invasion was "strategically unsound" because "to approach the lines (Travancore Lines) from Cranganur a river had to be crossed." The same river running on the eastern boundary of Cranganore had to be crossed by Tipu to reach Palghat which is about seventy miles from that base; the distance to the Travancore boundary being less than two miles. That invasion of Travancore was the sole object of Tipu is clear from his endeavours to get hold of Ayicotta and Cranganore forts through the agency of Holland, the Governor of Madras, from the Raja of Travancore, even after their sale to him by the Dutch. (p. 162).

Even a pro-Tipu student of history will find it hard to agree with many of the findings of the author. Prof. Hasan shows little of the spark of historical objectivity in his rank denunciation of Rama Varma. Had he cared to remember that the Travancore Raja was not a vassal of Tipu, the unwarranted criticism could have been avoided.

Of all the chapters, the one with delicate sleight of hand is that dealing with state and religion. The author can feel com-

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placent that he has done justice to his hero, but not to the subject matter, nor to the reader. By drawing on certain information and leaving others more important from the documents, he establishes the theory that Tipu was not a bigot but an enlightened ruler who raised Hindus to high positions in his Government, granted them complete freedom of worship, conferred grants on temples and Brahmins, gave money for the construction of images and on one occasion even ordered the building of a temple. "It is, therefore incredible" he says, "that a ruler who showed such tolerance and generosity who had such eclectic beliefs could ever have been guilty of religious persecutions of Hindus." (p. 364). The author is not mindful of the other positive evidences to prove the iconoclasm and bigotry of Tipu Sultan who established a reign of terror in Malabar. Through the length and breadth of littoral Malabar, hundreds of Hindu temples witnessed the defilement of their idols and demolition of their structures at the hands of Tipu and his soldiers. Their remains speak volumes on the intolerable acts of violence perpetrated by the invader. It is highly unethical on the part of a historian to ignore such living facts and pick up a few inconsequential pieces of evidences from unreliable quarters to establish the generosity and tolerance of Tipu. Harsh treatment of Hindus in Malabar is easily explained away by Prof. Hasan by saying that Tipu "did this not due to religious but to political motives. He regarded conversion as a form of punishment which he inflicted on such of his non-Muslim subjects as were guilty of repeated rebellion." (p. 362). Expansion of Islam was the real motive and the imputation of a political purpose is to hide it from unthinking readers.

That Tipu had strong aversion for non-Muslims was attested by the replacement of Hindu officials by Muslims in important situations under his dominion. This has been given as the main reason for the dimunition in the revenue collections under his reign because, as the Muslim historian Kirmani writes, the Muslim officials so appointed to posts requiring deep knowledge and great patience, could scarcely read and write. Tipu's contemporaries and his own eldest son testify to this misplaced love of the Sultan for Muslim officials. Still Prof. Hasan is eloquent on the favours Tipu bestowed on his Hindu subjects.

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What we feel is that there were two contradictory traits in Tipu's character which made him a bigot and iconoclast as well as a tolerant benefactor at the same time or at different times. As periodic disorder and lucidity appear in lunacy, fits of fanatical outbursts might have alternated with moments of sober thinking and normal behaviour, in him. Hindus and their temples in Mysore fared better at Tipu's hands, when compared with their counterparts in Malabar. Similarly Muslims of Malabar enjoyed more benefits than those of Mysore. This dichotomy in the personality of Tipu calls for a detailed and close analysis.

On the whole, the book contains an appreciative but not reflective description of an attractive figure of modern Indian History. Very often it is distressing to see the bottom of objectivity giving way and impulsive assessments falling to ground. This produces oddly artificial results, making one feel that it is an uneven book with too much of hagiography about it. Lack of poise is evident in the distribution of topics. Of the 400 pages of the text, 329 are devoted to wars and conquests and the rest for the more important aspects of the rule like Administration and Economy, State and Religion and review and conclusions. The book suffers badly from the overburdening of details on military activities. Certain minor mistakes also can be detected in the body of the book. In the map to face page 194 Tellicherry is shown far to the north of Mangalore.

It would, however, be unfair to dismiss this book as not substantial or solid. All will agree that this absorbing biography of Tipu has no rival of proven merit in the field.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

INDIA'S SEARCH FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY, by Ainslie T. Embree (pp. xiv + 138 + v), published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1st edition, 1972.

Indian patriots borrowed the concept of nationalism from the European countries in the nineteenth century and tried to foster a sense of unity and identity amongst Indians. The history of that search for national ideology has been admirably reviewed by

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Prof. A. T. Embree in a slender volume. Details of events and citations from the leaders and historians have been avoided to a very large extent. More emphasis has been given to motivations and this factor accounts for a sustained interest in the book.

In the first two chapters it has been shown that during the period between 1880 and 1898 while the British rulers had centralized political power and introduced a single judicial system, there were many such factors which testify to a large extent the veracity of the opinion of Sir John Strachey about India in 1880. He wrote: "men of the Punjab, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and Madras, should ever feel they belonged to one great nation, is impossible." There were multiple vernacular newspapers and nationalist organisations. There could be little national identity when Hindus and Muslims differed not only in religion but also in response to Western education. The Indian National Congress, confined to the educated classes, and indifferent to urban people, was divided into two camps. Reconciliation between constitutionalism of the Liberals and resurgent Hindu nationalism of the Extremists could not take place till 1916. Similarly, the Muslims were divided into the Aligarh and Deoband schools on the propriety of approach to modernity. The third chapter deals with the period 1898–1917. The fourth is devoted to the emergence of Gandhi as the national leader (1918–1924). Though "not the father of the Indian nation" (p. 63), he harnessed the masses "for the first time to the aims of a nationalist organisation" (p. 76) at the time of the Non-Cooperation movement in 1921. But the search for national identity was not over even during the next twenty years because there were tensions between two interpretations—"the Gandhian insistence on social salvation through personal commitment as opposed to the policies of institutional participation" (p. 83). By 1940 it became clear that national identity could come only with the attainment of Indian independence. Throughout the book the conflict between secular nationalism and religious nationalism has been illustrated. It ends in 1947 when not one but two nations emerged. How pithy is Prof. Embree's last sentence of the last chapter, when he observes that "the final test of nationhood: the capacity to survive."

Few admirers of Gandhi have been able to justify his mistakes as has been done by the author in the fifth chapter of this book.

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Gandhi abandoned the Civil Disobedience movement, launched by himself both in 1922 and 1934. He along with Nehru caused the failure of negotiations with the Muslim League. These were mistakes but they were right. Neither the *Charkha* nor the violation of the Salt laws was the correct medium for creation of a nationalist ideology and national policy. Yet it was necessary for Indian masses to have "some symbol that touched their daily lives." If the arguments of Jinnah and Iqbal in 1930 were not taken seriously or proposals for Congress–League Coalition ministries in provinces were rejected in 1937, Gandhi cannot be said to have blundered. How could unity come when Jinnah asserted that Hinduism and Islam were two distinct "social orders" (p. 102)?

The author has on many occasions charged a section of the British ruling class with obstruction of national identity. He accuses Churchill of concentrating on the Muslims which made genuine negotiations impossible at the time of Cripps' mission. But he has preferred to remain silent on the statements and policies of British rulers on certain other occasions. Nowhere has it been stated that the virus of communalism was injected by them. As early as April 14,1887, (Lord) Cross wrote to (Lord) Dufferin that "the interests of the Mahommedans must be considered." To whatever extent Prof. Embree's appreciation of Curzon be correct, it cannot be denied that the first partition of Bengal in 1905 was motivated less by administrative considerations than by the desire of weakening national identity, which was cherished by the Congress. Curzon wrote to Hamilton on November 18, 1900 that "one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it (the Congress) to a peaceful demise." Further, it must be remembered that Muslims of Bengal did not make a proposal for that partition. Again, it is not enough to say that the Simon Commission brought new life to the nationalist movement (p. 96). In a book, the aim of which is quest of national identity, one would expect the incorporation of the following directive of Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, to Irwin, the Viceroy of India: "We have always relied on the non-boycotting Muslims, on the depressed community, on the business interests and to many others, to break, down the attitude of boycott."

Another significant omission in this work is the farsighted suggestion of vivisection of India by a few Hindu leaders long

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before the demands made by Iqbal in 1930. Though Lajpat Rai wished to see an undivided India, in 1924 he suggested the partition of the Punjab and formation of four Muslim States comprising the North-West Province, Western Punjab, Sindh and Eastern Bengal. He observed "if there are compact Muslim communities in any other part of India sufficiently large to form a province, they should be similarly constituted. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not a United India. It means a clear partition of India into Muslim-India and a non-Muslim India" (Tribune, December 14, 1924). In 1928 at the All-Parties Conference Tej Bahadur Sapru pleaded for acceptance of Jinnah's demands that the Punjab and Bengal legislatures should have Muslims representation on the population basis for ten years and residuary powers vested in the provinces.

This reviewer is not certain if Prof. Embree thinks of Gandhi taking up the cause of Champaran peasants as an emissary of the Indian National Congress. If it is so, he is wrong. It is well known that though the Lucknow Congress of 1916 approved Resolution XI unanimously for appointment of a committee to enquire into the grievances of those peasants, no positive step was taken. It was due to the persuasion of Raj Kumar Shukla and Brajeshwar Prasad that Gandhi visited Champaran and he did it in a private capacity.

Possibly impelled by the necessity to be brief, the author has made a few sweeping observations. An example of such a tendency occurs in the following sentence: "The swadeshi movement and the boycott were concrete manifestations of an economic interpretation of modern Indian history that by this time was widely accepted by the nationalists" (p. 48). This is true from the Bengal school and some other Extremists. On the other hand some Moderate leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta and G. K. Gokhale favoured Swadeshism and remained hostile to boycott. Very few millowners like J. A. Wadia supported boycott. The general tone of the Western Indian Moderates and millowners can be discerned in the speech of D. E. Wacha, also Managing Agent for Morarjee Goculdas Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., at Bombay in 1908 about boycott as "the militant cant and mischievous shibboleths now in evidence in some utterly misguided quarters" (Speeches and Writings of D. E. Wacha, Madras, 1918, p. 145).

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Not only in choosing the theme but also in narrating it critically in so few words, Prof. Enbree sets the much desired high standard of modern Indian historical writings. One gets a clear perception of hindrances to and success in formation of nationalist ideology. One cannot but praise the sagacity of Prof. Eugene Rice, Consulting Editor, and Messers Alfred A. Knopf, publisher, for incorporating such a brilliant and intensely absorbing work in a cheap paper-back edition.

B. P. MAZUMDAR

IMPERIAL SUNSET, Volume I, Britain's Liberal Empire, 1897-1921, by Max Beloff, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London' 1969, pp. xi + 387.

As the title indicates, the author proposes to deal in detail in several volumes the decline and fall of the British empire, the beginnings of which may undoubtedly be traced back to the period immediately following the Second World War. There was a time when the Englishmen were proud to think of their empire on which the sun never sets and of their navy which rules the waves. Both these claims were things of the past about the middle of this century. As a sign of this we find a class of English statesmen definitely thinking of a 'retreat from the empire' in order to form a group with the other nations of Europe, even at the sacrifice of the Commonwealth. Further, a class of English statesmen now realised that the loss of their empire was quite a natural event as the following statement of the author shows; "It would need a profound belief in Providence to make one refrain from wondering why a group of foggy islands off Europe's north-western shores, populated beyond the means of subsistence that the islands could provide, endowed with no great natural assets outside the coalfields, should have become both the centre of a world empire and a possible arbiter of European rivalries. It might seem that so artificial a superiority was certain to prove as transient as the hegemonies that it had replaced." Though this pessimistic view was challenged by many, the impending collapse of the empire was in a way admitted even by the Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, who, in support of his proposal to apply for

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the membership of the European Economic Community (Common Market), told the House of Commons on 31 July, 1961, that "the processes which gave birth to the nation states of Europe had been repeated all over the world. Fifteen years ago the movement spread through Asia .... Today the same thing is happening in Africa .... The wind of change is blowing through this continent and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact." For a time Macmillan and the British Government sought to stem the tide by reorganisng the Commonwealth, but a section of British statesmen openly declared that it would be wiser to join the European Common Market even at the sacrifice of the empire, if necessary.

The volume under review presents before us, by way of a proper back-ground, the last glow of the British empire during the period 1897 to 1921, when it seemed to be at the height of its glory. He has described in great detail how the British empire passed through many crises, one after another, but always emerged triumphant. The initial discomfiture during the Boer War was effaced by the loyal support of the leaders of that country during the First World War. Similarly, inspite of discontent and political violence India gave her full support to the British during that war. But the author has referred to many facts to prove that "the position of Britain in 1921 was quite different in fact from what it appeared to be outwardly....The British position in the Victorian high noon had rested upon a combination of circumstances now fast disappearing .... It might seem that in 1921 the British role in the world had been triumphantly reasserted. But despite the illusion conveyed by the maps and tables the meridian had been passed, the final liquidation of Britain's world power — the Imperial Sunset — lay only fifty years ahead (p. 361).

Hitherto the British history has been written as a record of glory and triumph. The author has broken a new ground and gives the reader an insight into the modern history of Britain from an altogether new point of view. As such it is a welcome addition to the literature on English history. The author writes in a lucid style, gives evidence of wide reading and adds full reference to the sources. The printing and get-up are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

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HISTORY OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, by Manmathnath Gupta, Somaiya Publications, Bombay.

Unlike many other aspects of the modern Indian History the activities of Indian revolutionaries, both in India and abroad, have been covered exhaustively by the Indian scholars of modern Indian History — particularly during the last fifteen years or so. Mr. Manmathnath Gupta's contribution is quite different from the rest of the books on the subject in the sense that he was a participant, in different ways and at different times, in India's struggle for independence.

The book, *History of the Indian Revolutionary Movement,* as the author points out in introduction is a revised, uptodated edition of his earlier work in Hindi, *Bhartiya Krantikari Andolan Ka Itihas,* first published in 1939. Apart from using some German Foreign Office records, available in the National Archives of India, in its microfilm collection, not much evidence is there in the book of new and unexplored documents having been made use of — besides the German Foreign Office records have been made good use of by Dr. A. C. Bose in his book *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad,* published only last year. Mr. Gupta not being a professional historian, has kept documentary evidence in the book to the minimum.

Mr. Gupta has attempted to prove in this book that the non-violent movement under the Congress had exhausted itself by 1944, and it was the I.N.A. which delivered the *coup de grace* and compelled the British to quit India, as the British could no longer rely on the Indian army. He has also essayed to bring into focus the violent aspects of the 1942 movements, when attempts were made by the Indian revolutionaries to disrupt administration and assassinate Europeans connected with the oppressive administrative set-up of the British. Basing his argument on this analysis as also because of whole-sale arrests of the top Congress men in all parts of Northern India, he makes it amply and abundantly clear that, devoid of its top leadership, the Congress at the lower rung did not hesitate to indulge in acts of violence, letting loose the natural instinct of revenge against the tyranny of the British administration. In fact highlighting these facts considerably raises the stature of the top Congress men, who had kept the national movement non-violent, by and large, till then. One

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wonders if these Congress leaders could succeed in keeping the 1942 movement non-violent!

There have been written many detailed and specialised books on different aspects of the Indian revolutionary movement but Mr. Gupta's book is very welcome, as it covers a period of about a hundred years in just two hundred and fifty pages. Rather the period 1907–1947 forms the subject matter of the book. Description of the part played by the people in South India is restricted to just three pages.

Apart from the mistakes in printing, and loose expression at places, the index is very incomplete. This is more obvious, as the book does not contain any biographical notes, neither at the end of the book nor in the foot-notes. One hopes that these shortcomings would be taken care of in the next edition of the book.

R. I. MALHOTRA

'INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES ABROAD,' 1905–1922: In the Background of International Developments, by Arun Coomer Bose, Bharati Bhavan, Patna, 1971, Price Rs. 30, Pp. xv + 268.

Unlike many other aspects of modern Indian history, the activities of Indian revolutionaries abroad have been little covered by British or Western scholars of Modern Indian History. Dr. Bose has made an authentic, copiously documented, study of the activities of Indian revolutionaries in all parts of the world, for apart from tapping original source material here and abroad he took a lot of pain to interview some of the surviving old revolutionaries.

The book analyses, at the outset, the causes of discontent in India, and makes a through assessment of the reaction of educated Indians coming from middle class families, to the injustices of the British rule in India. The opportunities which the educated Indians got to travel abroad convinced them, as the author rightly points out, that 'Outside India, even in Britain, Indian revolutionaries could live and work with greater liberty, and many of them went abroad in search of greater safety and better opportunities'. These revolutionaries no doubt did get better opportunities to work, but their search for greater safety cut them off their roots in India, where their counterparts enjoyed neither

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liberty nor safety, and the repressive measures of the British in India made it difficult for them to have any fruitful contact with Indian revolutionaries abroad.

It may be difficult to uphold the contention of Dr. Bose that the revolutionary activities of the Indians abroad gave them a distinct character of their own, distinct from that of their counterparts in India; for both at home and abroad the revolutionaries stood committed to propagate agitation against foreign rule, to subvert the British Administration in India, to militate against the British persecution of Indians, and to create public opinion in favour of Indian independence. In fact, this is clearly borne out by the graphic account (Dr. Bose has given) of the revolutionary activities of the Indians all over the world, be it in Germany, Turkey, England, U.S.A., Japan, or South East Asian countries.

It has been brought out very convincingly in the various chapters of the book that lack of co-ordination among the revolutionaries in different parts of the world, and, the lack of complete and solid support from any first rate power of consequence could not but frustrate the Indian revolutionaries abroad. But what is really significant, the author points out, is that despite this serious lack and repeated failures, the revolutionaries abroad kept the struggle going for more than two decades.

Dr. Bose has not cared to reason out why the activities of the Indian revolutionaries abroad more or less languished after the twenties of the present century. May be the involvement of the masses in the national struggle under Gandhiji's stewardship gave an entirely new political direction to the activities of Indian revolutionaries both in India and abroad. But then to have kept the flame of Independence struggle burning in foreign lands was enough proof of the resolute spirit and courage of the Indian revolutionaries abroad.

The presentation, could have been more effective had the author cared to avoid repetition of factual details. For example, the activities of Indian revolutionaries in U.S.A. listed and discussed in chapters II and IV, are more or less gone over again in chapter X. One hopes that mistakes in printing and loose expression, at places, would be taken care of in the next edition.

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Drawing largely on primary sources available in India and Britain, this interesting book offers a great deal of welcome information about the activities of Indian revolutionaries abroad.

R. I. MALHOTRA

THE IDOLS OF KHAJURAHO, by Dr. Ramasray Avasti, Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow — Published by Oriental Publishing House, Gaya-kunj, Agra 2, 1967. Pp. 22 + 285 + 72 consist of 103 plates. Price: Rs. 70.

This is the revised text of a doctoral dissertation in Hindi accepted by the University of Lucknow in 1966. As some of the finest creations of man, several writers especially the lovers of art and architecture have been charmed by the sculptures which adorn the inner and outer walls of the temples of Khajuraho. Percy Brown, Stella Kramrisch, Krishnadeva, Sivarama Murthi and S. K. Saraswati in recent times and Cunnigham, Coomaraswamy and Ferguson much earlier, have bestowed paeans of praise on the admirable proportions of the various architectural numbers of Khajuraho temples.

Dr. Avasti in his present work has strictly confined his attention to the study of the idols of Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Sun, Navagrahās (Nine planets) and Eight Dikpālas found in Khajuraho temples including the archaeological museum there. A previous work on "Khajuraho sculptures and their significance" by Dr. (Smt.) Urmila Agarval, Ph.D. thesis, Agra University had included several Vaiṣṇva, Śaiva and Śākta idols of Khajuraho. Dr. Avasti has mainly concentrated on the iconographic details of the deities cited above. By way of an introduction to each item, he has traced the origin of the particular deity as reflected in Indian scriptures and literature. The characteristics of the icons of these deities as sanctioned in the texts of ancient iconography like Brihatsaṃhita, have also been pointed out by the writer. For example the different forms of Gaṇapati like Gaṇēśwara, Gajānana, Lambōdara, Sūrpakarṇa, and Ēkadanta have been properly distinguished. Detailed information relating to the location and context of Gaṇapati and other idols in Khajuraho is also given in appendices.

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The author suggests that the Khajuraho sculptors have shown originality by deviating much from the injunctions of the old iconographic texts. Novelties like sixty-four-handed Viṣṇu and the four-legged and seven-headed Siva are not prescribed in any of the old iconographic texts. He rightly points out that the artistic freedom shown by these sculptors had influenced later texts like Aparajita Pricha, Rupamandan and Devata Murti prakaran.

After the pioneer works of Gopinatha Rao, Krishna Sastri, and Prof. J. N. Banerjea, the need for detailed iconographic study of different centres in India has been felt by serious students of Indian sculpture. The present book is a laudable attempt in this direction. The book is also written in a pleasing style although there is preference for 'Sudh Hindi'.

This publication has all the attributes of research work including select bibliography, detailed index, appendices and representative plates. Patient scholarship and good craftsmanship have combined to produce a useful introduction to Khajuraho, the "illustrated dictionary of Indian iconography".

K. K. N. KURUP

GLORIOUS SAHIBS, by Michael Edwardes. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1968, Pp. 248.

This book deals with the final phase of the growth of the British empire during the period between 1799 and 1819, but is written on a somewhat novel plan. The author describes the well-known events but lays special emphasis upon some distinguished personalities who made the greatest contribution to the building up of the British empire in India; namely, David Ochterlony, Charles Metcalfe, John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. The main object of the author is to show the difference between these servants of the East India Company and the later administrators of the Victorian Era, both in the spirit in which they worked and their outlook upon men and things in India. After describing the special work of each of these four in his own sphere in great details, he sums up the difference between them, who built the empire, and their successors on whom devolved the task of

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preserving it. The former held that the British empire would be short-lived and Metcalfe wrote: "Empires grow old, decay and perish. Ours in India appears to have passed the brilliancy and vigour of youth and has reached a premature old age." They did not worry about abstract theories and their criterion was the test of reality. They knew they were superior to the Indians but they were neither arrogant nor smug. Material welfare of the peasants and their protection from such dangerous sophistications as English law were all that was needed—so thought these elder statesmen, unlike their successors who came out to India with a determination to raise her out of the misery which they believed was due to the heathen religion of the people. These, according to the author, were "Christian heroes of the Victorians" who wanted sweeping reforms in order to turn India into a sort of "brown Britain" while their predecessors sought to preserve as many old institutions as possible and to use them slowly to introduce reforms. The author concludes with the following observations: "They and the Victorian heroes shared a dislike for the debased Hinduism they saw around them, but unlike the latter, men like Malcolm and Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Ochterlony did not transmute their dislike into that hatred and contempt for everything Indian which was to poison relations between British and Indians until the end of the empire. The memory of it has not wholly disappeared today." The author regrets that while the Imperialists of the later age are remembered and their words are quoted "to condemn the living, it is perhaps worth remembering that there was once a conquest without real bitterness, that there were men who looked upon India with neither arrogance nor contempt, who were imperfect and frequently made mistakes, but who believed that even foreign dominion should be administered on a principle of humanity, not pride." Whether the author's clear-cut distinction between the old and the new may be accepted as a historical truth, at least without some qualification, may be doubted, but there is no doubt that he has presented the evolution of British rule in India in a fresh light which will be read with interest and perhaps provoke some rethinking on the part of the historians of British India.

The printing and get-up of the book are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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MINTS AND MINTING IN INDIA, by Upendra Thakur, published by Chowkhamba Publication, Varanasi, 1972; pages 192 (including Bibliography, pp. 164–74, and Index, pp. 175–92) with 6 Plates; Price Rs. 20.

The volume under review is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on Indian numismatics. It deals with some interesting aspects of early Indian currency and contains five chapters bearing the following titles — I. The Age of Barter and Exchange (pp.3–20), II. The First Coins (pp. 21–48). III. The State and the Coinage (pp. 49–96), IV. Symbols Vs. Mint-towns (pp. 97–145), and V. Economic Data from the Coins (pp. 146–63). Of these, Chapter I on 'The Age of Barter and Exchange' does not appear to have much to do directly with 'Mints and Minting'. At the top of odd-number pages between pp. 113 and 127, 'The State and the Coinage' is a misprint for 'Symbols Vs. Mint-Towns'. The article entitled 'The First Coins' (Chapter II) was contributed to a Seminar on Early Indian Indigenous Coins held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, in 1970, under the title 'The First Coins: a Study in Growth and Evolution', and was incorporated in its proceedings edited with a few notes by the writer of the followng lines and published by the University of Calcutta (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 21–47). It seems, however, that the article was printed off for the present volume before the proceedings of the Seminar reached Prof. Thakur. Thus, for e.g., we find that the ascription of *Varttika-kāra* Kātyāvana to the improbably early date of 600 B.C., to which we drew attention, is still there (p. 32).

We are grateful to Prof. Thakur for bringing together in the present volume the views of different scholars on particular topics and also for offering his own views in a number of cases. There are, however, cases in which the learned author appears to have depended on unsound and carelessly propounded views while there are others which require support or clarification. Prof. Thakur's attention may be drawn to a few such cases so that he may consider them while revising them for the second edition.

The author says, "The Greeks had issued silver coins as heavier as 263.5 grains in weight whereas the weight of their copper

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coins goes upto 261 grains suggesting that the value of silver during this period was probably not much more than copper" (p. 158). We are sorry that the argument is not intelligible to us. If the Mughul emperors issued coins of the same weight in both gold and silver, how does the fact throw any light on the relative value of the two metals?

Again Prof. Thakur accepts the view that coins in general became rarer from the time of Harṣavardhana (606–47 A.D.) onwards, which points to the decline of trade and disappearance of urban life (pp. 161, 62). This is utterly opposed to all available evidence since there are not only numerous references to various types of coins in the epigraphic records of the period in question but, besides innumerable unattributable coins, many issues can be definitely assigned to rulers reigning in the period in question. In this connection, one should not forget the facts (some of them also reiterated by Prof. Thakur) that coins once entering the Indian market remained in circulation for many centuries and that it was the traders and moneyers (and not the Government) that often determined whether fresh coins should be issued. Moreover cowrieshells and dummy pieces of metal were available for use if there was any shortage of real coins. We have the silver coins of Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya himself, and his Bengal contemporary Śasāṅka issued gold coins, imitations of which were produced in East Bengal even about the eighth century A.D. Among the coins mentioned in inscriptions of the period concerned under identifiable names, we may refer to the Anjaneri (Nasik District, Maharashtra) plates of the eighth century A.D. speaking of the prevalence of silver coins of king Kṛṣṇa who belonged to the Early Kalacuri dynasty and flourished in the sixth century A.D. Such coins have been discovered in several sites of Western India. Then again, the Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U.P.) inscriptions speak of the *dramma* issued by Ādivarāha and Vigrahatuṅga or Vigrahapāla. The Adivarāhadrammas are the silver coins of the Pratīhāra king Bhoja I (c. 836–85 A.D.) surnamed Ādivarāha, and we have actually silver coins bearing the name Ādivarāha in the legend. Likewise we have silver coins bearing the name of Vigraha who must have flourished in the eighth or ninth century A.D. In many cases, we are told about the issue of a particular coin by a king, but have

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failed to discover such issues. Thus Haribhadra's *Neminā̆hacariu* (1159 A.D.) speaks of the issue of coins bearing the figure of Lakṣmī from the *ṭankaśālā* or mint of Caulukya Mūlarāja I (961–96 A.D.); but no such coins are known to have been identified. Likewise, there is mention of coin-names which cannot be identified; thus a silver coin called Pañciyaka-dramma is mentioned in the Siyadoni inscriptions; but we have not been able to detect such coins among the old Indian issues of the medieval period. As regards foreign trade we may refer, among other facts, to Itsing's travels in merchants' vessels in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. as well as to the testimony of Ibn Khurdabeh (844–48 A.D.), Sulayman (851 A.D.) and many other Arabs.

It is not correct to speak of 'the sudden disappearance of silver money .... in Kuṣāṇa times' (pp. 157–58), when the Śaka Satraps of Western India had an extensive silver currency during the same age. Likewise, reference may be made to the highly improbable theory explaining the unpopularity of copper coins with the Guptas (pp. 160–61) by suggesting 'the growth of self-sufficient economic units which precluded the rise of coins by the rural peasantry rendering the use of money less important'. Unfortunately this theory was propounded without taking into consideration the extensive issue of copper coins imitated from Kuṣāṇa money and discovered in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and U.P. mostly in Gupta times.

We have noticed a few cases of what looks like contradiction in Prof. Thakur's treatment of the various topics. Thus in respect of the Śātavāhanas, he says (p. 159), "despite their extensive kingdom, they were not economically well off" and again, "This indicates the flourishing trade of India by sea-route in Sātavāhana period." Indeed, it is well known that the great opulence of the Śātavāhana kings is abundantly proved by the Nānāghāṭ inscription recording the celebration of sacrifices and gifts made in that connection by the queen of Śātakarṇi I. Even the readable portions of the fragmentary record mention the gifts of more than 72,000 cows and 45,000 Kārṣāpaṇa coins besides villages, wagonfuls of paddy, clothes, horses, elephants, chariots, silver objects, etc. These Kārṣāpaṇas were silver punch-marked coins prevalent in the Śātavāhana kingdom.

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We have drawn attention to a few cases from the last chapter of the book. There are not too many serious misprints; some of them noticed by us include 'Land-grants' for 'Land System' in the penultimate line of p. 171. We recommend the book to the students of Indian Numismatics.

D. C. SIRCAR.

INDIA AS SEEN IN THE BRIHATSAMHITA OF VARAHA MIHIRA, by Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Motilal Banarsidass (1969), Pp. xxiv + 556 with twenty-one plates, Price Rs. 50/-

This book, a dissertation for the Ph.D. Degree, is a very pains-taking collection of data furnished by Varahamihira. As this great astronomer lived in the 5th-6th century A.D., these data throw very interesting light on a very obscure period of ancient Indian history. After an elaborate discussion of the date of Varahamihira the author accepts the current view that *Panchasiddhantika*, one of the major works of Varahamihira was probably composed in 505 A.D. He has also discussed the life and the chronological order of the major works of Varahamihira. After this introduction the author discusses in different chapters the information supplied by Varahamihira on sundry topics arranged according to subject-matter, the major heads under which the data are arranged are Geography, Religion, Social Life, Food and Drink, Economic Life, Arts, Trade and Industry, etc. Particular interest attaches to the last two chapters dealing with "the method of ascertaining future prospects of rainfall and crops" and "the art of exploring underground water-springs." Here the author, after referring to various texts on the subject of prediction of rainfall, observes: "they bear testimony to the great success achieved by our ancestors in this field of study (Meteorology)." He does not stop to examine the practical, not to speak of the scientific, value of the theories or recipes contained in these texts which would be looked upon by any educated man today as worthless, and almost ridiculous. This is an illustration, out of many, indicating a lack of critical sense on the part of the author, such as one would not expect in a thesis approved for the Ph.D. Degree. The real value

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of the book is the laborious collection of materials scattered in Brhatsamhita and their presentation in a classified order. Although much of the information supplied by Varahamihira is known from other sources, the value of the data supplied by him is of great importance because of the fact that we know that they were true of a definite period of time, which cannot be said of data gathered from most other literary sources as their dates are unknown. Thus we are in a position to say that the valuable data, particularly in respect of social practices, religious ideas, art, industry, etc. mentioned by Varahamihira, existed as early as the 5th century A.D. or continued till that date. Thus the data collected by Dr. Mitra and arranged according to topics are bound to be of great value to the students of Indian history and Culture; for this reason we welcome this book as a valuable addition to the source materials of ancient Indian history.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

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Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Poona.
2. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras.
3. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London.
6. *Folklore,* Calcutta.
7. *Indian Archives,* Delhi.
8. *Indian Review,* Madras.
9. *India Quarterly,* New Delhi.
10. *Indo Asian Culture,* New Delhi.
11. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad.
14. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda.
15. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society,* Lucknow.
16. *Political Scientist,* Ranchi.
17. *Studies in Islam,* New Delhi.
18. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* Birmingham.
19. *University of Ceylon Review.*
20. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal,* Hoshiarpur.

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